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2 APRIL 1987

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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2 APRIL 1987

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### PAPERS REPORT GORBACHEV VISIT TO ESTONIA

#### PRAVDA on Estonian Visit

PM201209 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 87 First Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondents A. Chernyak, V. Shirokov, and G. Yastrebtsov: "Time Does Not Wait; M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in Tallinn"]

[Text] Tallinn--The CPSU Central Committee general secretary left Riga and arrived in Tallinn 19 February.

At the airport M.S. Gorbachev was met by K.G. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, A.F. Ryutel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, B.E. Saul, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and leaders of the republic's ministries and departments.

Estonia is considered to be one of the smallest republics, and from the geographical viewpoint that is correct. But its creative, economic, and social potential is great. The "Krengolmskaya manufaktura" brand, the deeds of the miners and processors of Kokhtla-yarve's oil shale and the creators of radio and electronic equipment from the "Punane RET" plant, and the research of scientists from the ancient University of Tartu are widely known. The output of its plants and factories travels to all ends of the country--semiconductor instruments and transformers produced at the "Tallinskiy elektrotekhnicheskiy zavod imeni M.I. Kalinina" production association, air cooling apparatuses for gas pipelines from the Tallinn machine building plant named for I. Lauristin, electric motors from the "Volta" plant, and modern furniture from the "Standart" association. Estonian output is also well known on the world market--it is exported to 90 countries.

But the task of the day is to expand work considerably. There are still many unused reserves and bureaucratic impediments on the path to higher production efficiency. The restructuring which is now under way in the country is above all the resolute surmounting of stagnation processes, as the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum demanded, the breaking down of the delaying mechanism, and the creation of a reliable and effective

mechanism for the acceleration of society's socioeconomic development. Restructuring means reliance on the masses' living creativity and the all-around development of democracy and the working people's initiative.

This approach is close and understandable to working people. They wholly support and approve the party's policy. V. Liyv, leader of a team of turners at the "Talleks" production association and member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, said:

"Restructuring reminds me of a chisel which reaches the clean body of metal beneath the layer of oxide and rust. The metal of our society is strong, strong and reliable. Restructuring is removing the shavings of laziness, inertia, and social weariness from it. True, we should note that some people have displayed what is actually impatience: How can it be, they say, we are speaking of acceleration yet we are receiving few new machine tools, for instance. In such cases I reply: Changing such a huge country and effecting a breakthrough in the consciousness of every worker is after all no simple matter, time is needed, as the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said, 'to change gear, to tune the whole mechanism.' In turn, I asked these impatient people: But have you yourself made at least a small contribution? Have you been able to think up something new, to improve or ameliorate something at your workplace? Time does not wait. The main thing for each person is to define his personal position, his 'standpoint' in restructuring. Then things will get going."

One meeting with Tallinn's working people was held on Vladimir Ilich Lenin Boulevard. Also present were delegates to the 20th congress of the republic's Komsomol, which opens in Tallinn.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary displayed interest in the changes taking place in the republic's life. We need an open, frank talk, we hide nothing from each other, he said. Everyone must take part in our business and implement in full the potential of our democracy.

Our people will do everything possible, a young worker joined in the conversation, but we must rid ourselves more rapidly of the chameleons who have rapidly adapted to restructuring...

M.S. Gorbachev: Such people probably do exist. But you know, I would put it like this. We are nonetheless not going to bring in people from somewhere for restructuring. We must all also restructure ourselves. Restructure ourselves in Moscow, in Estonia, in Latvia, in Siberia--everywhere. Injustice, double standards, and all kinds of deviations and violations hardly suit people. Everyone is tired of that. We must gear ourselves toward honest working people--toward workers, peasants, young people, veterans. And promote new people.

N.I. Stepanov, grinder at the "Zavod imeni M.I. Kalinina" production association scientific research institute: Mikhail Sergeyevich, we are very inspired by the fact that you are openly striving to talk with the people.

M.S. Gorbachev: Not everyone has always paid attention to what people say, has always striven to listen to people and to consult with them. Of course, much could have been put right before. That is indeed the case, and we must face up to the plain truth.

And to ensure that our plans do not remain just plans and that what we used to observe is not repeated, we must be closer to people and involve them more actively in all processes. Everywhere, at all levels. That is the main thing. After all, it is all very simple. Without people no policy is implemented, it is dead. People know and see everything. And if they are involved and helped and if such an atmosphere is created, then what used to be will not be repeated in our country. That's the entire philosophy. It is simple. It can be expressed in two words. But, as you can see, we still have to produce lengthy reports. How about you, do you read them or not?

Voices: Of course we read them, and with great interest.

M.S. Gorbachev: I like your mood very much. It generates a deep faith that we will see through to the end the tremendous and very difficult matter we have initiated. And I ask you to advance, without hesitation--forward, forward! There will be difficulties. There will even be mistakes. But don't panic, we will manage everything!

M.S. Gorbachev displayed interest in how frequently the enterprise changes the models of its output. The workers and specialists told him the figure is slightly over 50 percent. Every year this is achieved with difficulty, but you must try. They asked M.S. Gorbachev to continue persistently the course toward restructuring and not to give way.

M.S. Gorbachev: We will unfailingly see it through to the end but on one condition--that you support us.

Voices: Of course! We will support you! And to ensure that peace is reliably defended!

M.S. Gorbachev: We will do everything to ensure there is no war. This is my first time here in Estonia. I am interested to know what people think about politics and about life in their republic. That is why I will try, even though I know your reticence, to talk in detail with people. Estonia has a good reputation throughout the Soviet Union. For the fact that you love the land, do a great deal on it, and know how to work. Thank you for that. But expand your work, expand it as rapidly as possible. And we need more goods, especially consumer goods, and goods of good quality, like those in your republic. That is why I wish you particular success in this matter.

A talk about restructuring matters and each person's personal contribution to the 5-year plan took place at the Tallinn "Marat" knitwear production association, which M.S. Gorbachev visited.



"Our collective," A. Kapral, the association's general director, said, "produces 250-300 models of knitted underwear and outerwear every year. And every year we update nearly half of our output. Last year we brought the proportion of articles with the 'New' tag up to 52 percent. We cannot do otherwise--the people need fine, modern articles of good quality."

The experiment in Estonia's light industry, in which the collective of "Marat men" is taking an active part, has done a great deal to help get rid of the gross output approach toward the production of consumer goods. Now that a unified industry and trade complex has been created, including enterprises, bases, and the network of the firm's own stores, they are succeeding in satisfying the population's requirements more promptly and to a higher standard. For instance, "Marat" has organized a sector of particularly fashionable items. The "Marat" collective works steadily thanks to the stability and small turnover of its cadres. And the purposeful, consistent concern of the party and trade union organizations and the association's administration for the development of the social and consumer sphere has helped achieve this.

When her "rear services" have been assured, a woman worker will unfailingly set an example of honest, conscientious, productive labor, M.S. Gorbachev said in one talk.

"Very well said," is the convinced opinion of N. Maybakh, leader of a team of sewing machine operators who has been in the party for 20 years.

The seamstresses work on the basis of the collective contract, taking into account the labor input coefficient. Last year the team was socialist competition leader 10 times in its shop, produced over 82,000 items of above-plan underwear, and fulfilled the annual target a week early. Everything would seem to be fine. But the team leader has different ideas on the subject:

"We believe that if there is to be restructuring then it should affect everything without exception. But what is actually happening? We sew children's underwear lovingly, we spare no effort to ensure that everything is fine and attractive and that the child is pleased. But sometimes when you come in to the shift two or three workplaces are empty. That means someone's children have fallen ill again. I am not talking of everyone, but there are still negligent workers in some kindergartens and creches--they just want to get through the day. They care for the children anyhow. And if the children are even slightly neglected then you have one who catches cold and his mother has a certificate to take time off. The result is that the rhythm is also disrupted in our team. No, our restructuring should be like a strong chain: so that all the links in it are joined to each other and pull each other up..."

During the meetings there was a discussion of a wide range of questions. There was also mention of the development of the cooperative form of ownership, which only recently was treated as something that was second best. Some experience has been accumulated in this matter in Estonia.

M.S. Gorbachev visited the city town hall where he met and talked with party, war, and labor veterans and leading production workers.

"What the Central Committee is doing, what has been planned, is very good," said G. Allik, a party member since 1917. "The only thing is that words should not deviate from deeds, that restructuring should not lose ground. Is that in your power, Mikhail Sergeyevich?"

M.S. Gorbachev: We will follow the road of the January Plenum--we will manage to do everything!

"One is simply delighted that restructuring has begun," we were told by writer Paul Kuusberg, who took part in this conversation. "Estonian writers are wholeheartedly in favor of restructuring. The traveler will cope with the road, and we will cope with restructuring. All the more so since we have a strong basis--the friendship of the peoples. And when people undertake something all together, things will work out. All that is needed is that everyone should act even more vigorously. And without putting it off until tomorrow. Time does not wait."

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary laid flowers at the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin and at the Maaryamyagi memorial complex erected in memory of the campaign in the ice which the Baltic fleet ships heroically accomplished in February 1918. That legendary crossing undertaken on direct orders from Vladimir Ilich Lenin was the first major strategic operation of the red revolutionary navy. Tallinn sacredly preserves the memory of this crossing.

#### SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on Estonian Visit

PM241101 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Feb 87 First Edition pp 1-2

[Report by TASS special correspondents A. Belikov, B. Grishchenko, and N. Zheleznov: "Concern for People Is the Linchpin of Party Policy. M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in the Estonian SSR"]

[Text] Tallinn, 19 Feb--M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Tallinn today.

He was met at the airport by K.G. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; A.F. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.E. Saul, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers; and members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

M.S. Gorbachev laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin. In the Maaryamyagi Memorial Complex flowers were laid at the eternal flame of the monument erected to the memory of the fighters for Soviet power.

Conversations with residents were struck up during the very first minutes of getting to know Tallinn.



In the center of the city the general secretary was surrounded by a group of young men and women. They included delegates to the 20th Estonian Komsomol Congress, which opens 20 February. They invited Mikhail Sergeyevich to their congress.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary inquired about the changes taking place in the life of the republic. We need open and honest discussion, he said, and we hide nothing from each other. All must participate in our affairs and realize in full the potential of our democracy.

Our people will do everything possible, a young worker entered the conversation, but we must rid ourselves more quickly of the chameleons who have quickly adapted to restructuring...

M.S. Gorbachev: There probably are such people. But, you know, what I would say is this. We still will not bring people in from anywhere for restructuring. We must all restructure ourselves. Restructure in Moscow, Estonia, Latvia, Siberia--everywhere. People hardly like injustice, double standards, all kind of deviations, or violations. Everyone is sick of this. We must orient ourselves toward honest working people--workers, peasants, young people, veterans. And promote new people.

N.I. Stepanov, polisher at the scientific research institute of the "M.I. Kalinin Plant" Production Association: Mikhail Sergeyevich, we are greatly inspired by the fact that you endeavor openly to talk with the people.

M.S. Gorbachev: Not everyone has always been attentive to what people say or always endeavored to listen to people and consult them. Of course, a lot could have been rectified before. That is really so, and the plain truth must be looked in the eyes.

And to ensure that our plans do not remain just plans and that what we observed earlier is not repeated, we must get closer to people and involve them more actively in all processes. Everywhere, at all levels. That is the chief thing. It is all very simple. Without people no policy is implemented, it is dead. People know and see everything. And if we involve and help them and create such an atmosphere, what happened will not be repeated. That is the whole philosophy. It is simple. It can be expressed in a couple of words. But, as you see, long reports still have to be made. What about you, do you read them or not?

Voices: Of course we read them. And with great interest.

M.S. Gorbachev: I like your mood very much. It creates profound faith that we will see through to the end the tremendous and very difficult thing that we have begun. And I beg you: Without hesitation--forward, forward! There will be difficulties. There will even be mistakes. Don't panic, we will manage everything!

In the afternoon the general secretary familiarized himself with Tallinn's "Marat" Production Association. This enterprise, which produces knitted goods, is known for the high quality of its output. The people there do not seek to impress with stunning exhibition models. All the best things created by artists, pattern makers, and designers are destined for the production lines and addressed to customers. However, there is also a reverse side to the coin: "Marat" is unable to satisfy in full the high demand for its products--there are insufficient capacities. M.S. Gorbachev spoke with the enterprise's workers, specialists, and Communists about the reserves which must be commissioned to enhance production efficiency.

M.S. Gorbachev inquired how frequently the enterprise changes product patterns. Workers and specialists reported: Just over 50 percent every year. It is not easy to do this, but it is necessary to try. They asked M.S. Gorbachev to persistently continue the policy of restructuring and not back down.

M.S. Gorbachev: We will certainly see it through to the end, out on the one condition that you will support us.

Voices: Of course! We will support you! And so that peace be reliably defended!

M.S. Gorbachev: We will do everything to prevent war. This is my first visit here, to Estonia. I find it interesting that people think both about politics and about life in their own republic. Therefore I will endeavor, even knowing your reserved character, still to speak with people in greater detail. Estonia has a good name throughout the Soviet Union. Because you love the land, do a great deal on it, and know how to work. Thank you for this. But step up your work, step it up more quickly. And we need more goods, particularly consumer goods, and good-quality ones like yours. Therefore I wish you special success in this matter.

The entire people, M.S. Gorbachev said, are interested in ensuring that all our enterprises are good and produce good products. But it is necessary to be concerned about working conditions all the time. For it is chiefly women who work here. We have a big program for the modernization of enterprises in the sewn goods industry. We want to involve our entire industry in this matter, and we also want to sign contracts with the socialist countries and modernization contracts. We are involving firms in capitalist countries in cooperation. We must thoroughly tackle our light industry. That is the first thing. The second is the housing problem.

Voices: This problem must be solved, and then it will be easier for the sector to advance.

M.S. Gorbachev: We are thinking about how to find in light industry more potential for accelerating the commissioning of housing. Less money for housing per worker is still being allocated here than in other sectors. Therefore the question requires special attention.

Following the familiarization with production, talks were held with leaders of the enterprise and of public organizations. Leaders of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Estonian SSR ministers participated in them.

Yu.a. Kraft, Estonian SSR minister of light industry, said that the sector is working under conditions of full financial autonomy.

M.S. Gorbachev: ...And self-financing, including the social, cultural, and consumer spheres. What has this given you?

Yu.a. Kraft: We can enlarge the enterprise, and at the same time we have been given the right to organize construction. The only snag is that construction materials are not being allocated for housing construction. This question is still not being resolved.

A.Kh. Kapral, association director: We use everything the enterprise earns on the basis of self-financing to carry out construction using our own resources. That is laid down in the conditions of the experiment.

The conversation went on to touch on questions connected with making fuller use of the potential of international production collaboration. It was pointed out that there are still many unutilized reserves in this direction. They must be commissioned more resolutely.

Directions in the technical modernization of the association and of light industry as a whole were examined in detail. The country's machine builders must accelerate the production of equipment needed to produce high-quality consumer goods. What is needed is great concern for the working and living conditions of light industry workers and those who are resolving a task of great social significance.

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA VIEW 27TH CPSU CONGRESS ANNIVERSARY

#### PRAVDA Editorial

PM251703 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Following a Revolutionary Course. One Year Since the 27th CPSU Congress"]

[Text] In his interpretation of the lessons of history V.I. Lenin noted more than once the following important feature: In revolutionary periods the people's masses can "generate a fighting vigor one hundred times greater than in a normal period of tranquillity." At the very beginning of 1917, on the eve of the epoch-making events in Russia which shook the world, he talked with perspicacity about "how great and vast can and will be the effort" of the people's masses "if it is a matter of struggling for truly great goals, struggling in a truly revolutionary manner."

The 27th CPSU Congress opened in Moscow 1 year ago, 25 February. And today, as we sum up what has happened since then, we are faced again and again with the unfading correctness and topicality of Lenin's prediction. In giving a direct and frank answer to the most complex and most urgent questions of modern times and putting forward an audacious and at the same time entirely realistic program for the country's development, the congress imparted new momentum to the invigorating processes of renewal initiated by the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum in 1985. The fresh wind of change is inspiring millions of Soviet people, generating mighty creative energy. In terms of its quintessentially revolutionary character, the Bolshevik audacity of the plans, and the humanitarian social bias, the work being done now, as was noted at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum, is a direct extension of the great accomplishments initiated by our Leninist party in October 1917.

What are the most characteristic features which go to make up the general picture of what has been done in the past year? First of all, it can be stated quite definitely that the restructuring that has begun in the party and the country has become essentially irreversible, developing not only in breadth, but in depth as well, penetrating the deepest layers of our life. Society is on the move. The political line of the congress and the party's practical work to implement it have gained powerful popular support. The convincing evidence of this is the many thousands of letters from Soviet people in support of the course mapped out by the congress and their pronouncements during meetings with party and government leaders, at



meetings in labor collectives, and at the trade union report and election conferences and congresses on the eve of the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress, starting today.

The year since the party congress has brought, as is well known, important changes in our economy. Suffice it to recall that the increase in industrial production in 1986 was 4.9 percent, one-third greater than the average annual increase in the previous 5-year period. Serious work has started on transferring the economy to new methods of management and administration. The state acceptance system, geared to improving labor quality, is gathering momentum and accumulating experience. There has been an improvement in the agrarian sector. The accent on the social sphere is reflected in the increase in the volume of housing construction and commissioning of health centers and hospitals and cultural and consumer establishments. The measures to strengthen discipline and order in the country and to combat drunkenness and alcoholism and other negative phenomena have resulted in a marked reduction in losses of worktime and in the number of offenses.

But it would be wrong to evaluate what has been accomplished over the year from a purely practical viewpoint, in terms of immediate gains. Especially as the accomplishments in this area are really only the first steps. The 27th Congress' lessons in truth are of equal importance in terms of changes in the spiritual sphere and the improvement of the social atmosphere.

In order to ensure the success of the plans the party has boldly embarked on the path of the extensive democratization of all spheres of our life and the all-round development of openness, self-management, and the electoral principle. We are talking directly, openly, and frankly today about our shortcomings, troubles and problems, unafraid of admitting an error or a weakness. We are freely comparing different opinions in order to find the optimum ways of improving matters further. We are experimenting boldly in the economy and in the sociopolitical sphere because we know that only free thinking, untrammelled by dogma and prohibitions, and truly creative endeavor are really fruitful, ensuring progress. Therefore the further development of the democratization process remains one of our paramount tasks.

The essentially revolutionary transformations taking place in the country are of enormous significance not only for Soviet society, but for socialism as a whole, for the whole world. At the present crucial stage the international policy of the party and Soviet state is determined by domestic policy more than ever before. Indeed, only lasting peace will enable our people to concentrate all their efforts on implementing the planned transformations. The Soviet land has put forward the concept of establishing a system of all-embracing international security and is persistently and consistently urging the world to adopt a new way of political thinking capable of delivering the peoples of the world from the threat of wars and aggression, from new rounds of the senseless arms race.

This policy is finding increasing support worldwide. The Moscow international forum "For a Nuclear-free World, for the Survival of Mankind" was striking evidence of this. It made an impassioned appeal to the peoples and governments to learn to live in peace with one another and protect the future of mankind.

Yes, much has been done in the year since the party congress. We have increased our work rate, and the authority of the Soviet land its domestic and foreign policy in the world has considerably increased. But it is a rule in the Leninist party not to be seduced by successes. One must not lose sight of the fact that only the first steps have been taken on the difficult path of renewal, only the initial experience has been acquired. A very great deal has still to be done to finally remove the obstructions and accretions due to inertia, routine, and red tape. It is also necessary to solve the underlying, large-scale problems of acceleration affecting the foundations of our economy and social policy, the functioning of the political system, the state of the spiritual sphere of society, and, ultimately, the life and activity of the party itself as the decisive force and guarantee of the success of restructuring.

In short, a great deal of extremely crucial work has to be done, demanding full effort. We cannot, we have no right to postpone our plans or stop halfway. We have to go forward at an increasingly fast rate, restructuring as we go, in order to allow people to experience in the current 5-year plan, above all via the social sphere, the fruits of our economy's greater dynamism and of the whole process of change initiated by the party.

A very great deal depends here on how successfully and efficiently the country works this year -- the year of the 70th anniversary of Great October.

This year, like the years to come in the current 5-year plan, is to be a serious test for all our cadres, for every party organization, and for every labor collective. It will reveal and involve in active work the real devotees of restructuring. It will make those who obstinately cling to old methods, who cannot or will not understand the demands of the time get out of the way.

The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress remain for us a powerful inspiring stimulus to new accomplishments and a militant action program. And there is now no more important task for Communists and all Soviet people than to implement its plans in concrete deeds and consolidate and develop the revolutionary stride, the mental attitude, and the desire for change brought about by the party's great plans to renew the country.



## IZVESTIYA Report

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Following the Course of the 27th Party Congress"]

[Text] We have lived through a year since the day the 27th CPSU Congress began its work in Moscow. Remember the state of burning, keen attention with which each one of us awaited this event, realizing that the congress would determine both the future of society as a whole and the destiny of each one of us. Inspired by the life-giving processes of renewal whose foundation had been laid by the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum, we expected from the congress an open, direct, and honest reply to the most urgent, acute, and complex questions put by the times and we expected sober assessments and audacious but unfailingly realistic plans.

We were not wrong in our expectations. The congress showed that the party can derive lessons from the past to the maximum degree, can consider the time we are living in a profound, Leninist manner, and elaborate a realistic, comprehensively considered program of action. The 27th CPSU Congress lent powerful acceleration to the matter initiated by the party nearly 70 years ago and made vigorous and substantial amendments to our daily life and to our consciousness.

We have lived through a year. Today, in assessing the magnitude of our work, we rightly speak of the revolutionary changes taking place in our society today. And it is a case not only of the economy, which is transferring to new methods of economic management and administration which should ensure the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, not only of the drastic turn toward people's needs, expressed in special attention toward the social sphere -- no less important and no less promising are the visible and rapidly growing changes in the spiritual sphere, in people's consciousness, in their attitude toward matters, toward everything taking place in the labor collectives and the country as a whole. Sensing that they are the masters, people no longer want to remain onlookers in their own house -- they are speaking frankly about sore points, renouncing obsolete written and unwritten rules, habits, and approaches, are demanding rights are learning how to use those granted to them to elect, resolve, and really administer. The human factor is at work, democracy is at work! "Only through democracy and thanks to democracy," the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum said, "is actual restructuring possible. Only thus can we open up scope for the most powerful creative force of socialism -- free labor and free thought in a free country."

We have lived through a year. We are rightly proud of the changes in which we have taken part and which we have witnessed. But let's also demand realism and sobriety of ourselves: We are still only at the start of the difficult and complicated path, we are still only approaching the implementation of such longed-for aims. Therefore we will not flatter

ourselves with what has been done, we will not rush to deliver victorious reports even if there are grounds for so doing. However much hope the changes may have inspired in us, we will not close our eyes to the fact that the tempo and scope of restructuring still do not satisfy us. The editorial mail, meetings, and local reports show that to this day there are still labor collectives and even geographical zones where restructuring can be judged only by words but in no way by deeds. There are still leaders who, while studiously repeating words about openness and democracy, to this day firmly adhere to arbitrary methods of management tested over the years, evidently hoping that the inconvenient changes fraught with new, unaccustomed trials, will pass them by. That is on the one hand. On the other there are rank and file workers or to be more precise full citizens of our society who are either reluctant to make use of the rights granted to them or who, at the very first clash of views, gesture helplessly and retreat into convenient shadow as though they did not realize that nothing new is given or offered without a struggle, like a gift tied up with festive ribbons.

The processes initiated by the 27th CPSU Congress are acquiring an increasingly stable, irreversible nature with every passing day and those who by their passivity and adherence to obsolete methods of operation and thinking are voluntarily or involuntarily countering restructuring risk being cast aside. And there is no need to spend time learning and repeating the correct words -- we are all tested by action. Ordinary or exalted action, but action. And action alone!

We have lived a year since the 27th party congress and nearly 70 years since the Great October. There is a direct and indissoluble link between these events. In its deep revolutionary essence, in the bolshevik audacity of its plans, in its humane social orientation, the work which is now being performed is the direct continuation of the great accomplishments initiated by our Leninist party in the days of October 1917.

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CSO: 1800/407

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### NOVOSTI'S FALIN INTERVIEWED ON USSR REFORMS

AU271047 [Editorial report] Vienna Television Service in German at 2045 GMT on 24 February carries a 160-minute panel discussion on the recent developments in the Soviet Union, hosted by Paul Lendvai, head of the East Europe department of the Austrian Radio and Television Service, ORF, with the following participants: Valentin Falin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the board of the Polish weekly POLITYKA; Karin Brandauer, awardwinning Austrian film director; Herbert Kremp, publisher of the FRG daily DIE WELT; Leopold Spira, chief editor of the Austrian monthly WIENER tagebuch and former member of the KPOE Central Committee; and Franz Koessler, ORF correspondent in Moscow.

Asked by Herbert Kremp whether the bureaucracy, "the ruling minority in the Soviet Union" will permit the new developments, Valentin Falin points out that the minority does represent the interests of the majority and then says: "If the general secretary did not have the understanding and the support of the party, if he had no understanding and support in the masses of the population, he would not be able to start this, to start it in such a way, and to carry it out in such a way as is already being done. The strength of his position is mainly that he has the support of the overwhelming majority, in the party, in the party's Central Committee, in the state apparatus, not to speak of the population." "If today, 1 year after our party's 27th Congress, we analyze the situation, we do not exaggerate, I think, when we note that positive changes have been achieved. The changes have a certain scope, they have roots, deep roots, and thus, we can look to the future, at least in our country, with optimism."

Daniel Passent adds to these observations: "I believe it is still too early to speak about limits to the changes in the Soviet Union, because the situation is developing so quickly that what was impossible to conceive yesterday is occurring today. And therefore, I think that tomorrow something might happen that today nobody believes to be realistic or possible."

Asked about the discrepancy in the contents of Gorbachev's speech at the Central Committee Plenum and of the Politburo resolution and about the lack of reports on the Politburo discussions, Falin says that during the Politburo discussions "different opinions were expressed about how openly

Soviet problems should be discussed, because the papers wanted to criticism some things but the reports did not say whether the criticism had any effect. Some secretaries said that this continuous criticism does not have any consequences. And some thought that one has to wait until these consequences come to the fore and then respective reports can be made. This was not supported by the majority."

"If, as Mr Kremp says, not everything Mr Gorbachev said is in the resolution of the Central Committee Plenum, this is natural. It would probably be a 200-page document if everything were formulated in specific paragraphs, specific stipulations, in this resolution."

When Lendvai points out that the discrepancies mainly applied to two topics, the secret ballot and the party conferences, Falin counters that secret ballots have already been implemented in the elections of first party secretaries in two Soviet towns, and in the elections of factory directors.

Passent states that the fact that the Central Committee resolution did not include everything Gorbachev had said is "a positive development, because, previously, if the Central Committee resolution accepted everything the general secretary said, one said that this is no sovereign political discussion, this is not a competent body, this is only bureaucratic acceptance.

Continuing, Falin says that "skepticism is always good" and that Gorbachev himself is the first one to be skeptical and is very "self-critical."

Concerning the repeated comparison of today's changes in the Soviet Union with those at the time of Khrushchav, Falin says: "I would like to note the following: It is probably not quite correct to compare today's changes with those at the time of Khrushchev. The main difference is that today we realize with deepest conviction that the democratization of the system, democratization in the sense of true administration by the people, is not only the desirable direction of development but actually the only possible one."

Falin points out that Mikhail Gorbachev never thinks "that he knows everything. He must ask others for advice about why something was like that, is like that, and what the future will be like. He always needs new arguments. He is looking for arguments -- not polemics, but arguments; he is looking for discussions."

Reminded by the other participants in the discussion that on the surface everyone seems to agree with Gorbachev and that the people do not seem to dare to voice any objections, but that there are obvious discrepancies between the general reports and reality, Falin says: "When we note a certain restraint today, this is an expression of the fact that in the past the people heard similar things but they were not implemented. They really expected a lot from what was said 20, 30 years ago concerning the need for democratization. And there was not much left of this democratic process in the end."



"Today, I think, there is a qualitative difference. This difference is that we tell the people not only about the mistakes of our grandfathers or fathers, not about the mistakes that were made before we came, before Gorbachev came, but also about the mistakes that he himself accepts as his own responsibility. He does not say I have realized all this because I did not participate in the previous activities. He says we all are responsible for the long delay and therefore we must frankly tell the people what has to be done, what has to be done in the party, why things have to be done in this way and not differently."

Speaking about the communist party in general, Falin states that most people become members of the party not because they want more power but because they believe in its ideas and want to help to spread them.

Referring to the distortion of Lenin's teachings, Falin says: "The difficulties had already started at the time of Lenin, when the basic idea of the October Revolution was one of the most unbloody revolutions in the world. On the day of the revolution only two or three people were killed." "After the October Revolution everybody was elected: army commanders, all professors at the universities." "But then the civil war started, foreign interference began, and then war communism [Kriegskommunismus] started. This is the problem that did not evolve out of the internal development of party and ideology but because of external conditions."

Asked by Lendvai what would have happened if Konstantin Chernenko had been stronger and healthier, Falin answers that "this expresses the American wish that Chernenko should have lived longer and Gorbachev would have become general secretary a few years later."

Daniel Oassent points out that the "great difference between Gorbachev and Khrushchev is the fact that 25, almost 30 years have passed. Much has happened in the meantime. One must not isolate the developments in the Soviet Union from the context in other socialist countries."

After Passent refers to Jaruzelski's wholehearted support for the Soviet reforms and Kremp points out that this support is definitely different among the socialist countries, Falin states that the reforms that are being implemented in the USSR at present "reflect not only our own experiences but the experiences of all socialist countries. We admit that we have thoroughly studied what has been done or not done in Hungary, in the CDR, in Poland, in China, and in the CSSR. We do not do everything ourselves. We do not say what is being done in our country must be done everywhere else in all other socialist states. It is not our task to prescribe to the other states how things should be. They will -- out of consideration -- try to understand what suits them, what is in their interest or not."

Referring to the international conditions that influence domestic development, Falin says that one important factor is military parity with the United States: "And we have had parity in the true sense of the word since the end of the 1970's. Now we can decide how much we follow the U.S. efforts, and in which we will develop our own technologies."

With regard to the presentation of history in the Soviet Union, Falin affirms that now "history is being presented in a more objective and business-like way and this is necessary because the young people have to know what things were really like."

Once more referring to military parity between the superpowers, Falin says: "Today there is parity -- the Americans admit it. Why do they want to ruin us economically. Please read the Pentagon papers of May 1982 -- there you can read it in black and white. They want to ruin us economically." When Herbert Kremp points out that the Pentagon is not a Central Committee, Falin responds: "The Pentagon is the Pentagon. We know the Pentagon's role and we do not want to play down this role. Unfortunately, it is a factor in international relations and in American life and when the Pentagon continues armament then this is not because the United States has too much money."

Asked whether it was a grave mistake to treat Andrey Sakharov the way he was treated in the past, Falin says that he "personally would have dealt with the case in a different manner at that time."

Then the discussion turns to humanitarian issues and to the recent release of many people charged with slander of the Soviet Union and anti-Soviet activities. Franz Koessler says that Soviet media do not report much about these releases and Falin counters that "if something like that happens in the Soviet Union it arouses interest. If something similar happens in Great Britain this is hardly reported with one line in Western papers and this is also natural. I do not know whether this is because this happens more often or more rarely in Great Britain." He also refers to the fate of Leonard Peltier in the United States, which is, as Falin says, not much reported in Europe.

Lendvai reads a telegram by the Vorarlberg group of Amnesty International welcoming the release of "more than 100 so-called political prisoners," and asking Falin whether "in the near future the release of prisoners imprisoned only for religious reasons can be expected."

Falin answers: "I would like to say that no one is imprisoned in the Soviet Union for so-called purely religious reasons. During the discussion with mass media representatives, Mikhail Gorbachev made a very interesting statement. I think it was the PRAVDA chief editor who spoke about anti-religious work. And Gorbachev told him that there is nothing like that. There is, as we say in Russian, atheist education, there is not antireligious propaganda in our country. This is prohibited by the Constitution, because we are in favor of freedom of conscience. In our country there are people who, under the pretense of some religious activities, are pursuing totally unreligious things that are illegal. And these people are punished. But, I repeat -- and I know this definitely -- that there are not people in our country who are imprisoned for their religious views. And, hopefully, there will never be such people. This is not necessary, either, because, it is no problem for the people and even less a problem for the party."



Asked whether the process of releasing prisoners will continue, Falin answers: "It will continue if we understand the same thing under the term release. I personally understand this term in the way that people are offered sufficient opportunities to leave the country and the problem itself is dealt with in a more humane way. If we mean the same thing with this term, I agree."

Responding to Lendvai's assertion that now even the dismal conditions in Soviet prisons are beginning to be discussed openly, Falin says that these conditions were already discussed before the war and "it is not a problem to discuss them but to change them in such a way that there is no reasons for discussion. Basically, in your countries as in our country a prison is not a recreation home but a penal institution, and therefore the conditions in such institutions are essentially alien to man."

Falin points out that in the Soviet Union, as well as in the West, the problem which concerns him most is that "the number of unmotivated criminal acts is higher than ever before in the past 30 years, although in our country the crime rate has decreased very much over the past year as a result of our campaign against alcoholism."

When asked about the reasons why groups of people recently broke up demonstrations in Moscow for the release of Iosif Begun and whether these people were "part of the party," Falin denies this allegation and says that they are "young workers, from Moscow's suburbs, partly students in vocational schools, who come to Moscow in the evening and start to reeducate people with different views. These are the heavy metal groups, the rock groups, and so on."

He also says that these events were counterproductive: "First, there was this demonstration arranged for freeing a Jew just on the eve of the Moscow Peace Forum and at a time when many people received permission to leave the country. Actually there was no reason for demonstrating for Begun because the family had been told that his case would be positively reevaluated." Falin assumed that the people breaking up this demonstration wanted to express their negative attitude toward emigrants since some emigrants have returned to the USSR and "these reemigrants are not warmly welcomed in the Soviet Union" because they receive preferential treatment concerning housing, work, and so on.

Falin reaffirms that "the counterdemonstrators were not, as you imply, actually uniformed men wearing civilian clothes over their uniforms. We should not consider the events under the supposition that in our country only that which is permitted happens and that things which are not permitted or which do not seem to suit you always have a political background."

Asked in conclusion whether there are any guarantees that the reforms will really be implemented and not be cancelled as was the case with Krushchev's reforms, Falin says. "It is envisaged that the party body will be renewed, that the party secretary is not elected for life but only until a certain

age limit, and that he can be elected twice or three times at the most. The same principle will be applied in other connections, too. This will be ensured. The knowledge about the events in the past that you mentioned is available. There is only the question of whether everything is done from one day to the next, or whether one needs some time for this. This is the important, the primary question." "There is a proverb that says there is no turning back. We have reached a certain stage of democratization and from this state we will proceed only forward, not backward. It has also been said that we are not somewhere in the middle of the process or at the end, but we are at the very beginning. And, in a certain sense, in our democratization we are at the beginning of the beginning. Much is being done that was recognized as a principle and as a necessity at the beginning of the revolution and, for many reasons -- external and internal reasons -- was not realized. Now this is being realized. And this is why we say that it will be like a new revolution."

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CSO: 1826/003

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### NIKONOV VISITS UZBEKISTAN, ADDRESSES REGIONAL CONFERENCE

PM241801 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 87 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Back up Words With Specific Deeds"]

[Text] V.P. Nikonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in the Uzbek SSR from 16 to 21 February. He visited kolkhozes, sovkhoses, processing and construction industry enterprises within the agroindustrial complex, scientific institutions, and food stores in Karakalpak ASSR and in Bukhara and Tashkent Oblasts.

At the sovkhos named for the 60th anniversary of the USSR he was thoroughly briefed on hothouse farming, while scientists, specialists, team leaders, and machine operators at the sovkhos named for the 50th anniversary of the Komsomol spoke of the problems of rice cultivation in the republic. Discussion at the Karakalpak Meat Combine centered on the degree of processing which products undergo, the expansion of meat product variety, and the improvement of quality.

At Kodzheyliyskiy Rayon's V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked about the organization of cotton production, the work of links operating on collective contracts, the farm's economy, and the development of subsidiary activities. Questions concerning the improved quality of cotton fiber were examined at Bukhara Oblast's ginning enterprise.

At scientific establishments and at science and production establishments he was familiarized with the organization of the matters concerning scientific developments and their introduction into production, and saw for himself the whole range of machines and equipment for the growing of cotton, vegetables, and fruit, as well as equipment for the operation and construction of irrigation systems.

Meetings took place with labor collectives and with party and economic workers from the republic, and questions concerning construction for social and consumer service purposes and the utilization of Uzbekistan's labor resources were discussed in the course of conversation with them.

A conference of central committee secretaries of the Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tajik, and Turkmen Communist Parties and of obkom secretaries from these republics in charge of agricultural questions, chairmen of republic and oblast

agroindustrial committees, and other workers from the agroindustrial complex of Central Asian republics was held in Tashkent on 21 February.

A detailed analysis was made of the reasons for the slow rates of increase in the output of agricultural products, the inefficient utilization of production potential created in Central Asian republics, and the low returns on funds invested in land reclamation. Ways to eliminate shortcomings were mapped out.

The conference discussed the tasks of party and agricultural organs in Central Asian republics sharply to increase productivity in agriculture and boost the economics of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production.

It was noted that a powerful production potential has been created within the agrarian complex of Central Asian republics. But this potential is poorly utilized and fails to produce the proper returns.

The situation prevailing in the region is largely attributable to serious shortcomings in the development of leading sectors in the agroindustrial complex. Most farms produce poor harvests on irrigated land. Party organizations in the republics and agricultural organs have relaxed their demands and their monitoring with regard to the fulfillment of pledges and plan targets by collectives, words have frequently diverged from deeds here, and inadequate work has been done on kolkhozes and sovkhozes to introduce advanced forms of labor organization.

The republics make insufficient use of developments engendered at the region's scientific establishments, and forms of cooperation between science and production such as science-production and production-science systems and associations are being introduced too timidly. Insufficient attention is given to questions of training cadres for all economic links of the agroindustrial complex.

V.P. Nikonov addressed the conference.

Taking part in the conference were V.S. Morakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee; I.B. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department; N.F. Vasilyev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources; A.I. Zverev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Forestry; Academician A.A. Nikonov, president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences; and other senior officials from the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and a number of ministries and departments.

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CSO: 1830/335

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### KUSTANAY OFFICIAL RESPONDS TO PRAVDA ARTICLE

PM221029 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 86 First Edition p 2

[V. Demidenko, first secretary of the Kustanay Kazakh Communist Party Obkom, response to PRAVDA article under the rubric PRAVDA Carried the Item. "What Has Been Done?": "On a Principled Footing"]

[Text] The dispatch published in PRAVDA on 19 September under the headline "The Article Was Read at the Gorkom" has been discussed at a session of the Kustanay Kazakh Communist Party Obkom Buro. The criticism was deemed correct.

Certain personnel of the Kustanay Gorkom and Gorispolkom took a prejudiced view of articles published in the newspaper LENINSKIY PUT and reacted unhealthily to criticism of shortcomings in the work of city organizations and their leaders. The party Obkom Buro once reversed a Gorkom decision to punish Ya. Shakirov, the newspaper's deputy editor. Yu. Gaynanov, director of the Kustanayvodstroy Construction Trust, was severely punished for persecuting the author of the critical article. However, the Gorkom Buro and the Gorispolkom failed to learn from this and proceeded to ignore a number of articles which called for the adoption of specific measures.

By decision of the party organizations of the Gorkom and the Gorispolkom apparatus V. Mikhaylov, first secretary of the Gorkom, S. Bakay, chairman of the Gorispolkom, A. Tarasenko, chief of the Gorkom Propaganda and Agitation Section, and S. Polishchuk, secretary of the Gorkom, have been censured for their incorrect reaction to press material and for ignoring critical articles in the newspaper LENINSKIY PUT. V. Zubkov, deputy chairman of the Gorispolkom, was severely reprimanded by the Obkom Buro and had his record card endorsed.

F. Konontsev and A. Volosyan, who were named in the article, have been relieved of their leading positions and have received severe party penalties.

The Obkom Buro has instructed party committees to support in every way the principled critical tenor of press and radio material, resolutely to eradicate suppression of criticism, to ensure great openness in work, and to strive for increased creative activeness on the part of the masses and for the establishment of the democratic principles of social justice.

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CSO: 1830/330



## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### RAYKOM LEADER DISMISSED FOR LAXNESS ON LIQUOR

PM271555 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Moscow CPSU Gorbkom"]

[Excerpts] At a routine session held on 14 January the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Buro examined the question of serious shortcomings in the work of the Timiryazevskiy CPSU Raykom in carrying out the CPSU Central Committee resolutions on overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism. It was noted that the Timiryazevskiy Raykom has been inactive and has relaxed its demandingness in carrying out party directives on launching an uncompromising struggle against these dangerous negative phenomena. Many labor collectives and primary party organizations are left out of this important work. Exactingness has been slackened toward communists and leading cadres who have not created an atmosphere of intolerance toward drunkenness in the Rayon and of deviations from the principled line of overcoming it. Communist trade union leaders who fail to intervene in the struggle against violations of the antialcohol legislation are not brought to account.

The Rayon's public education and health organs are not active and persistent in combating drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug abuse. Work to prevent offenses due to drunkenness, including among minors, is conducted unsatisfactorily.

Alcohol-related crime in the rayon has risen. However, the activity of the Rayon Internal Affairs Administration, which embarked on the path of overreporting and distorting the genuine state of affairs, has not been monitored by the party Raykom and the Rayispolkom.

The crude mistakes in the work to eradicate drunkenness and other negative phenomena are directly linked with the passivity of Comrade Yu. A. Grafov, first secretary of the party Raykom, and his inability to analyze the situation, organize matters, and step up activeness in work. The Rayispolkom (Chairman Comrade N.M. Kalugin) has failed to take measures to coordinate the actions of the deputies' group, the Rayon Commission for the struggle against drunkenness, and social organizations, and has failed to ensure that the leaders of Rayon services are brought to account.



The Raykom Buro, aware of the atmosphere of low demandingness and poor discipline prevailing in the Rayon, failed to make a strict party assessment of the Rayon leaders.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Buro relieved Comrade Yu. A. Grafov of his duties as first secretary of Timiryazevskiy CPSU Raykom for his failure in work to carry out the CPSU Central Committee resolutions on overcoming drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug abuse, for his ignorance of the situation in the Rayon, for serious failings in cadre work, for his unsuitable leadership style, and for his reluctance to conduct restructuring in the spirit of the party congress demands. It was noted that the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration Collegium has decided to relieve Militia Colonel N.I. Kuzmin, chief of the Timiryazevskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration, of his duties for his unprincipled attitude toward the numerous instances of violations of socialist legality in the Rayon and has recommended that he be dismissed from USSR MVD organs. The commission instructed the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Party Control Commission to submit a proposal on the personal responsibility of other Rayon leaders for their inactivity and failings in work.

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CSO: 1830/331

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### AZERBAIJAN CP CC NOTES LAW ENFORCEMENT ABUSES, ERRORS

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 22 Jan 87 p 1

[Article: "Within the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP has discussed the question of further strengthening law and order and the protection of the rights and legal interests of citizens.

The resolution that was passed notes that the implementation of the course to accelerate socio-economic development, to democratize all aspects of public life and to encourage growth in the creative activeness of the masses, as confirmed by the 27th party congress, is indivisible from strengthening socialist law and order, from achieving the dependable protection of constitutional rights and legal interests of Soviet citizens, and from strict adherence to the principles of social justice.

The systematically-implemented measures on regulating the legal basis of government and public life, on strengthening socialist discipline, on eradication of postscripts and misrepresentation, on the elimination of drunkenness and alcoholism, on the strengthening of the struggle against the diversion of non-labor income and against various legal violations have received the unanimous support and approval of workers.

Nevertheless, the work that is being directed at achieving socialist law and order and at protecting the rights and legal interests of citizens is not yet sufficiently effective and does not fully meet the requirements of the party at the contemporary stage. Deviations from legal standards are tolerated and there have been cases of violations of labor laws, of the established order for housing allocation and of the order for levying fines and for incurring other administrative penalties.

In many republic ministries and departments there are frequent cases of violations of labor laws. In guaranteeing law enforcement in the national economy the responsibility of judicial services and the role of the state arbitration organs has been minimized.

An analysis of the status of law enforcement and law and order attests to the low level of activity of the republic's law-enforcement organs and to the

extremely slow rate of restructuring of these organs' operations. The number of serious crimes being committed remains high and the principle of the inevitability of punishment is poorly adhered to. Workers of law-enforcement organs who have been called upon by virtue of their positions to carry out the laws and to protect the rights of citizens dependably sometimes themselves incur serious violations of the law.

Workers of the office of the public prosecutor and the police organs have been allowed to make mistakes and to exhibit haste in dealing with questions of instituting criminal proceedings, making arrests, detaining people and carrying out searches. There are more than isolated instances in which citizens have been subjected groundlessly to the institution of criminal proceedings and arrest. Callousness and a contemptuous attitude on the part of workers of law enforcement organs toward the justified complaints of citizens often result in arbitrariness and lawlessness. This is also attested to by the numerous letters and statements and oral appeals by workers to the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP and to higher-standing party and soviet organs.

Thus, in 1984 several workers from the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, Mekhtiyev, Yeremeyev, Sadykhov and others, were groundlessly convicted for embezzlement and postscripts. Upon the protest of the USSR Office of the Public Prosecutor the criminal proceedings were halted due to the absence of any criminal wrongdoing on the part of the aforementioned individuals. Strict disciplinary action was taken against those guilty of violations of socialist law in this matter and investigators Rasulov and Orudzhaliyev were discharged from the organs of the public prosecutor. Party organizations were strictly reprimanded and recordings were made in the party cards of Rasulov and Orudzhaliyev, the former deputy public prosecutor Bogomolov, member of the Supreme Soviet Karakmazli. A reprimand was issued to Bagdasarov, department director in the public prosecutor's office.

Lawlessness and arbitrariness were also tolerated in the case of the director of Bygyrskiy Garnet Mining Sovkhoz of Geokchayskiy Rayon, Gafurov, who was illegally under arrest for over 3 years. Thereafter the case was dismissed due to the absence of criminal evidence.

Violations of socialist law took place during an investigation of and legal proceedings against Bakhchiyev, a school director in Shemakhinskiy Rayon, Burdzhaliyev, a worker for the Shamkhorskaya GES [Hydroelectric Power Station], Mamedov, director of a ZhK [Housing Operation Office] in the city of Kirovabad, Aliyev, a worker for the organs of internal affairs, Babayev, director of the Nasiminskiy Division of Social Security and a number of other individuals who were illegally under arrest for a long period of time.

To a large extent all of these violations are the result of an irresponsible attitude toward their responsibilities by workers of law enforcement organs and of their low level of training and competence.

There are serious shortcomings in the implementation by the public prosecutor's office of supervision of whether or not socialist law is being observed. The Azerbaijan SSR Office of the Public Prosecutor and the deputy

prosecutor of the republic, Comrade A. Sultanov, who is responsible for organizing the supervision by the public prosecutor of investigations and inquiries, are not taking the necessary measures to enforce laws during the investigation of criminal cases.

Serious violations of socialist law are tolerated by workers of the investigative apparatus of the Azerbaijan SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Here we still find instances of superficial investigations and improper classification of crimes, prejudice, a biased approach when conducting preliminary investigations, and the falsification of case materials. In the struggle against violations of law great losses are incurred by the cover-up of crimes to avoid investigation. In this regard an unfavorable situation has developed within the administrations of GAI [State Automobile Inspection], BKhSS [Combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation], corrective labor institutions and other subdivisions. The administration of the MVD and first deputy minister Comrade T. Aslanov, curator of the investigation administration, are not taking the necessary measures to adhere to socialist law during the investigation of criminal cases and do not demonstrate demandingness toward subordinates.

Gross violations of socialist law are tolerated by the republic's legal organs. Courts are still not investigating all circumstances comprehensively and completely in every case. Courts offer poor guarantees of the principle of individualized punishment, especially with regard to first-time offenders in insignificant crimes who can be reformed without being isolated from society. As a result, in many cases the sentence is overturned or changed by a higher court. The administration of the republic's ministry of justice, and the first deputy minister, Comrade A. Zulfugarov, who is the direct overseer of the operations of the legal organs, have not achieved a level of quality in investigation of cases or the steadfast adherence to socialist law by courts.

Errors and miscalculations are tolerated in the republic's Supreme Court, where during the examination of specific cases of the first instance there are many unjustified and illegal sentences which later must be repealed.

At the same time some directors of law-enforcement organs are trying to justify instances of violations of socialist law and the limitation of the rights of citizens, while groundlessly attributing these actions to the strengthening of the struggle against negative phenomena.

The party organizations of law enforcement organs and political departments of the MVD are not carrying out purposeful work with regard to avoiding violations of socialist law and the limitation of citizens' rights. This important question was not discussed at party meetings. The necessary demandingness is not being exhibited towards communists who tolerate digressions from the law. Rarely do we hear reports from communists-directors about the conditions relating to obeying socialist law when conducting investigations, inquiries and legal proceedings.

The work of many directors of ministries and departments as concerns adherence to state and contractual discipline, labor laws, laws on the protection of



socialist property and strengthening the struggle against fraud, mismanagement and wastefulness does not meet party standards.

Soviets of people's deputies are poorly involved in questions related to the work of law enforcement organs, in the rigorous adherence to law by government organs, responsible parties and citizens, in securing the preservation of public order and in increasing the activity of every Soviet individual as regards the fulfillment of his constitutional obligations.

In all of this work there has been a negative effect resulting from the absence of constant interactions among the Academy of Sciences, Minvuz [Ministry of Higher Education], Minpros [Ministry of Education], Gosprofobr [State Committee of Vocational-Technical Education], Minyust [Ministry of Justice], offices of the public prosecutor, the MVD, scientific-research institutes, educational institutions, sources of mass information, and the republic's Znaniye societies as regards questions of simplifying ties between the judicial sciences and practice, improvements in legal education and training of workers, and development in workers of a deep respect for the law and a conviction that abiding by the law is the decisive factor in maintaining stable law enforcement and the rights of citizens.

Party obkoms, raykoms and gorkoms are still inadequately directing and coordinating efforts by party organizations, soviet, law enforcement and economic organs and all of society as regards the eradication and prevention of any digressions from the requirements of the law and any types of actions that infringe on the rights of citizens. They are not demonstrating the necessary political leadership and daily control over the activities of law enforcement organs. They are not giving the necessary attention to questions of selecting and distributing cadres within these organs, or of raising the activeness and battle readiness of their local party organizations; they do not always make a fundamental evaluation of cases in which laws have been violated and do not exhibit implacability with regard to those who attempt to trample Soviet law.

In examining steadfast adherence to law, continued improvements in guaranteeing rights to citizens and in protecting their legal interests as an essential condition for the normal functioning of the soviet political system, for the development of our state system, and for strengthening the socialist self-government of the people, the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP focused the attention of Comrade G. Talybov, chairman of the Supreme Court, Comrade I. Ismailov, the republic's public prosecutor, Comrade D. Veliyev, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Comrade A. Orudzhev, Minister of Justice, on their personal responsibility for achieving socialist law and order, for strengthening the protection of the rights and legal interests of citizens. They have been assigned the task of radically restructuring the style and methods of work, being guided by the decisions of the 27th party congress and the June 1986 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, as concerns eliminating shortcomings in the activities of law enforcement organs, improving management of these organs, and improving in every way possible demandingness towards cadres for the irreproachable fulfillment of their work obligations.

It is essential to halt decisively instances of prejudice, of a biased approach in carrying out inquiries, preliminary investigations and legal proceedings, of red tape, and of cruelty and indifference to the fates of individuals. We must completely eliminate from practice instances of groundless detentions, arrests, searches, illegal initiation of criminal proceedings against citizens, the falsification of materials in cases and other unlawful methods which manifest themselves in the course of inquiries and investigations. Each such case must be regarded as an extreme occurrence and the strictest measures must be taken against the guilty parties.

We must look into every case of illegal arrests, of institution of criminal proceedings and censure; we must examine the personal responsibility of guilty parties right up to dismissing them from agencies.

Comrade A. Sultanov, First Deputy Public Prosecutor of the Azerbaijan SSR, was given a strict reprimand for failure to carry out the supervision required by a public prosecutor when investigating criminal cases, for the low quality of investigations and inquiries, and for failure to implement measures related to eliminating instances of illegal arrests and the detention of citizens.

Comrade A. Zulfugrov, First Deputy Minister of Justice of the Azerbaijan SSR, was issued a reprimand for failing to achieve leadership over the republic's courts as regards the undeviating adherence by them to the requirements of socialist law, for the low quality of legal investigation of cases, for red tape and for bureaucratism within legal agencies.

Comrade T. Aslanov, First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, has been reprimanded for failing to achieve leadership of the investigative apparatus and for failing to take effective measures to avoid gross violations of socialist law during the investigation of criminal cases.

The Supreme Court of the Azerbaijan SSR has been given the assignment of examining the question of the recall of supreme court member Comrade O. Karakmazli for gross violations of socialist law during the examination of criminal cases.

It was recognized that a number of workers of law enforcement organs guilty of violating socialist law and of infringing upon the rights of citizens have been dismissed and have been subject to party and disciplinary punishment. Under examination is the party responsibility of all individuals who have tolerated violations of socialist law and infringements upon the rights of citizens.

The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP has obliged party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms to develop extensively, and carry out, systematically and purposefully, work related to achieving strict observance of socialist law and of the rights of citizens, seeing this as one of the important, integral parts of the restructuring that is taking place.

The aforementioned organizations must perform the daily management of the activities and coordination of efforts of party organizations, government institutions, law enforcement organs and all society as regards the

elimination and avoidance of any deviations from the requirements of the law and of any actions which infringe upon the rights of citizens. They must actively utilize organizational, economic, investigative and legal resources for these purposes.

They must improve work with the legal education of workers and with the development in workers of a thorough understanding of the indivisibility of rights and obligations, a high level of citizenship, respect for Soviet law and the rules of socialist society, and of a conviction that sound law and intelligent discipline are an integral part of our democracy.

The aforementioned organizations must develop an atmosphere of intolerance to violations of law in every collective. Each such instance, no matter by whom it is tolerated, must be evaluated with principle and keenness. While doing this they must persistently implement the stipulations of the Rules of the CPSU concerning the double responsibility of communists with regard to legal violations--their responsibility before both the state and the party. The organizations must make a principled party evaluation of guilty parties as concerns violations of socialist law and the infringement of the rights of citizens even to the extent of removing them from the ranks of the CPSU.

These organizations must strengthen the political leadership of law enforcement organs and their own daily control over the activities of these organs. They must not tolerate interference in inquiries or legal investigation of specific cases.

They must demonstrate constant concern regarding improving the quality, composition and education of cadres of law enforcement organs and increasing the size of the party strata within these organs. They must tirelessly educate the workers of law enforcement organs in the spirit of deep respect for the law, genuine humanity and unmercenary service to the people.

They must improve the battle-readiness of primary party organizations of courts, public prosecutors' institutions, justice institutions, Gosarbitrazh [State Arbitration Commission] and subdivisions of organs of internal affairs. They must enhance their influence on improving the work of the apparatus in obeying Soviet law and fulfilling the directives of the party and government.

The councils of ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Nakhichevansk ASSR and the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have been given the task of raising the sense of responsibility of organs and institutions subordinate to them as concerns unwavering adherence to law. They are to eliminate decisively any manifestation of bureaucratism and red tape and a callous, bureaucratically formal attitude toward people and toward satisfying their legal interests and needs.

Local soviets of people's deputies, which bear the full responsibility for the status of law and order, must increase their effectiveness with regard to their subordinate organs of internal affairs and justice. They must institute the systematic examination of reports and communications from the directors of these organs during sessions, meetings of standing committees and executive committees and in labor collectives and residential areas. Attention must be



given to improving precision and quality in the work of notaries, legal consultants, local subdivisions of Gosavtoinspektskiya, division inspectorates and the patrol-post and passport services of the police. They must strive toward increasing the activity of people's courts, voluntary people's militias, societies for the struggle for sobriety and other social organizations geared towards strengthening socialist law.

Ministries and departments have been assigned the task of increasing the responsibility of directors of enterprises, institutions and organizations with regard to maintaining state and contractual discipline, observing labor laws and laws on the protection of socialist property in the struggle against fraud, the manufacture of poor-quality goods, mismanagement and waste while utilizing in full measure all legal channels and the possibilities for departmental control of cadres and judicial services.

The ASPS [Azerbaijan Trade Union Council] and branch trade union committees must initiate the activity related to protecting the legal interests of workers and to the supervision of and control over observance of labor laws. They must increase the role of technical and legal inspectorates of trade unions as regards improving labor conditions and adherence to the norms of labor laws.

The Academy of Sciences, Minvuz, Minpros, Gosprofobr, Minyust, the public prosecutor's office, the MVD of the Azerbaijan SSR and the republic's Znaniye society should raise their level of interaction on questions related to strengthening ties between judicial science and practice, to improving the system of legal preparation of management cadres and specialists, and to legal education and training of various strata of the population.

The editors of the republic's newspapers and magazines, television and radio will systematically elucidate the work experience of party, soviet, economic and law enforcement organs and social organizations with regard to strengthening socialist law and order and to utilizing legal methods in the restructuring of management operations. The means of mass information have been called upon to develop in people a deep respect for the law, to show convincingly, using specific examples from life, that the unwavering adherence to the requirements of law satisfies the interests of both society as a whole as well as each Soviet individual and is a decisive factor in achieving stable law and order and stability in the rights of citizens.

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CSO: 1830/318

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### TAJIK CP CC BURO NOTES POOR STATE OF MATERNAL HEALTH CARE

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA In Russian on 6 February 1987 carries on page 1 a 1200-word TadzhikTA report on the 4 February meeting of the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro. Among the items on the agenda was a discussion of ways to improve the state of mother and child health care in the republic. It was decided that, beginning in 1988, 45 percent of the planned yearly total of public health institutions to be opened will be in the form of pediatric and maternity treatment and prevention facilities. The republic Gosagroprom was directed to guarantee the construction and opening of 69 outpatient clinics in rural areas between 1987 and 1990. Councils of peoples deputies were instructed to take steps to improve the pediatric treatment and prevention facility infrastructure, among other ways by appropriating ground floors of residential buildings under construction in urban areas for use as pediatric and prenatal clinics. In addition, local soviets were instructed to use part of the 10-percent deduction from capital investments earmarked for social and cultural facilities to increase the construction of medical institutions. The Tajik Trade Unions Council, Gosagroprom, and Ministry of Health were presented with the proposal that annual shows and competitions for the best efforts in construction, infrastructure development, and material-technical base support for public health institutions be held in republic sovkhoses and kolkhozes. Deputy Gosagroprom Chairman A.D. Sukhanov was singled out for criticism at the meeting for his "failure to comprehend the urgency of the shortage of public health facilities in rural villages."

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### UKRAINE'S MVD EXAMINES 1986 RESULTS, TASKS

AU231434 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Feb 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Guarding Law and Order and Legality"]

[Text] The board of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, with the participation of internal affairs administration chiefs under the Kiev Gorispolkom and Oblispolkom; chiefs of the Ukrainian and the South-Western internal affairs administrations in transport; and political section chiefs in these administrations, has examined the results of work done in 1986, and the state of discipline and socialist legality in the activity of the internal affairs personnel in light of the requirements of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum and the CPSU Central Committee decision on further strengthening socialist legality, law and order, and on intensifying the protection of citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

In his accountability report, I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian minister of internal affairs, noted that, as a result of the measures taken by party, administrative, and law-enforcing organs in the republic to strengthen legality, law and order, the general number of crimes has dropped. The number of road traffic accidents, fires, and other infringements of the law in the state of alcoholic intoxication has subsided.

At the same time the speaker noted that a radical turn in the struggle against criminality still has not been achieved, and a model public order still has not become commonplace. The rate of offenses continues to be high in the large industrial cities of the Donbass, the Dnepr region, in Odessa, Kharkov, Zaporozhye, Lvov, and other oblasts. Notwithstanding the measures taken, there has been no substantial decrease in delinquency among minors and young people. The prevention of crimes should become an effective instrument to actually influence the situation. The application of criminal, administrative, and prohibitive measures alone does not affect the true roots of drunkenness, moonshining, and profiteering in liquors. A success in the struggle against them, as well as against unearned incomes, parasitism, currency speculation, and drug addiction can only be achieved through assuming a comprehensive attitude toward these ugly phenomena, through the active participation of labor collectives and the public in it. In exposing crimes, it is essential to eliminate

their causes and conditions for their being committed, to more closely cooperate with prosecuting organs, and to call more strictly to account officials responsible for the safety of money and material values entrusted to them. It is necessary to fully ensure the safety of the Soviet people and their dwellings, law and order in public places, in motor transport, and in inflammable facilities.

The speaker called particular attention to the tasks of radically restructuring the style and methods of work performed by internal affairs organs, improving efficiency in their official duties, perfecting the selection, training, and education of cadres, and fostering legality and discipline.

A.I. Borovik, political section chief in the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, delivered a report on further improvements in party political work performed to accomplish the tasks confronting internal affairs organs.

Participating in the board proceedings were A.S. Chumak, Administrative Organs Department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; B.V. Zabočin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs; and responsible functionaries of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers.

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CSO: 1800/399

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**UKRAINE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES MEETING**--Interindustrial scientific and technical complexes and engineering centers are new forms for integrating science with production; they have gained good recommendation in the Ukraine. Last year with their assistance 300 progressive technologies were introduced into the national economy. This was reported at a session taking place in Kiev of the General Assembly of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. It was noted in the report by Academician Paton, president of the Republic's Academy of Sciences, and other speeches, that the academy's activity over the period under review passed under the aegis of an active putting into practice of the resolutions of the party's 27th Congress, and the concentration of forces on priority directions in scientific and technical progress. Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, took part in the work of the session. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2004 GMT 2 Mar 87] /9604

**UKRAINIAN KOMSOMOL CONGRESS**--V. Lyaskalo in Kiev reports that the Ukrainian Komsomol Congress has been preceded by a broad discussion among young people. [Video shows footage from an exhibition of the work of young innovators at the republic's Economic Achievements Exhibition and from an exhibition of the work of young Ukrainian painters. Further shots show the scene outside the congress building as delegates arrive. The video concludes with brief shots of delegates inside the hall of the congress, including pictures of the platform and the audience. A medium closeup is shown of Shcherbitskiy.] "The congress that opened today will sum up the results of this big discussion, define the most acute problems and ways to solve them, and draw up a program of further action aimed at raising the standard of work of all levels of the republic's komsomol organization. Comrade Shcherbitskiy is taking part in the work of the congress." [Summary] [From the "Vremya" newscast] [Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Mar 87] /9604

CSO: 1800/400

## MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

### MOSCOW TV ANNOUNCES PROGRAM CHANGES

LD022213 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1948 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Unscheduled announcement, read by announcer]

[Text] Dear comrades. As you probably noticed, from 4 January this year some changes have occurred in the work of the first programme of the central television. These have been brought about, above all, by the fact that recently many enterprises moved to two- and three-shift work, and some work flexible shifts. Workers and employees in the transport and communication services, workers in medical institutions, teachers and students at higher education establishments and vocational colleges all work according to complex schedules. The working day of workers in some categories ends late in the night.

In order to enable the television viewers to have a sufficiently wide choice of programmes, and to inform them in the best possible way about domestic and foreign policy issues we are starting broadcasts of the first programme at 0700 and closing down after midnight. Thus, following the morning calisthenics you can listen to a short concert, watch cartoons, and get acquainted with the news on Vremya.

In the future, the morning program of news and music will be considerably expanded. Apart from the usual calisthenics, music, public information programs and cartoons, it will include brief bulletins on the most recent news, the press review and sports. The evening program of news and entertainment is also being continued. It will start after 2300 and last well after midnight.

In short, these are the changes in the format of the first all-union program.

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CSO: 1800/390

## MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

### SOVIET PUBLISHERS DISCUSS BOOK PUBLISHING POLICY

PM101140 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 February 1987 carries on page 7 under the rubric "For Whom Are Books Published?" a 2,600-word discussion headed "Editions, Instead of Mirages?" between the paper's correspondent Ye. Kuzmin and leaders of the Artistic Literature Publishing House V. Menshikov, acting director of the publishing house, A. Puzikov, chief editor, and V. Aladyev, deputy director and chief artist. They note that while there has been an increase in the publication of contemporary Soviet literature in terms of the proportion of the total number of titles, in terms of print runs classics still account for 80 percent. The publishers discuss their policy on improving publication of modern works and works of the literature of the peoples of the USSR and on responding to consumer demand. Puzikov concedes that "print runs are not always coordinated with the actual demand from readers," and notes the importance of distribution and marketing policies in this respect. Aladyev discusses the difficulties involved in printing books to a high technical standard, especially those with illustrations. They note the move toward increased autonomy for the publishing houses and express the intention of being "more careful than before in selecting each title for the publishing plan." They complain that printing facilities are holding them back, and express the hope of expanding the "classics and contemporaries" series, which appeals to "the mass reader."

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## MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

### BRIEFS

CONFERENCE OF NOVOSTI FOUNDING ORGANIZATIONS--The fifth conference of organizations which founded the NOVOSTI press agency has been held in Moscow. Taking part were representatives of the USSR Journalists Union, the USSR Writers Union, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the all-union "Znaniye" society, and the AUCCTU. The conference delegates discussed the report delivered by V.M. Falin, chairman of the NOVOSTI board, and the tasks of the NOVOSTI press agency under present conditions. The conference made changes to the NOVOSTI charter and elected a new council of founders. [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4] /9604

CSO: 1800/397

## HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

### UZBEK PARTY HISTORY INSTITUTE HEAD SCORES 'UNCRITICAL' RESEARCH

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 24 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Uzbek Academy of Sciences academician Kh. Tursunov, director of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Institute of Party History, under the rubric "Implement the Decisions of the 3rd Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee!": "Learn From Life's Lessons"]

[Text] A large detachment of historical scholars is at work within the republic's scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions. They are doing a great deal. But we, the social scientists, are still a long way from the broad application of science to specific practical needs and we are slow in restructuring ourselves in the spirit of the modern demands placed on us by the party.

A study of the present state of party-history studies in Uzbekistan, as well as of the social sciences as a whole, shows that instances of petty research topics, duplicated efforts and superficial approaches continue to occur within our scientific institutions and social science faculties. It must be admitted that, in a number of cases, historians have failed to be critical when attempting to clarify both negative and positive phenomena in social life. Certain scholars, without any critical interpretation, have made use of sources, some of which have contained distorted, often ostentatiously bombastic information. "Studies in the History of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan", "A History of the Uzbek SSR", and certain other publications suffer from this in particular. Social scientists are missing the scientific courage to analyze the reasons for difficulties and contradictions which arise in real life. Many mistakes have been permitted to occur in studies of certain problems of history, literature and philosophy, as, sometimes, have deviations from principles of historical methodology, party spirit, and a class approach to evaluating individual events and historical figures.

The monograph entitled "The Activities of the Communist Parties of the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan under Contemporary Conditions", which was published in 1984, is not entirely objective. Its authors made uncritical use of archive documents and restricted themselves to showing only the positive aspects, the successes, while avoiding the difficulties, the shortcomings and the negative phenomena. The authors failed to resolve the main problem of

research: to reveal and creatively interpret the mechanics of interaction and mutual influence in the development of the economy, science and culture on a regional scale, to discover the general and the particular in the development of inter-nationality processes, and on this basis to formulate theoretical conclusions and practical recommendations. These mistakes are also typical of works produced by workers of CPSU history faculties at the republic's higher educational institutions.

Many shortcomings in the study of history are explained by the inadequate preparation of certain historical scholars in Marxist-Leninist methodology. The quality of our research suffers from this in particular. If we analyze the works on party history that have been published in the past 20 years, then it becomes apparent that many of the authors deviated from the principles of Marxist-Leninist methodology, i.e. historical method, party spirit, the general and the particular.

Frequently, there is also a lack of understanding of Marxist tenets regarding social and economic stages of development. The history of the party is viewed by certain authors in isolation from the dynamically changing system of productive forces and production relationships. The reader is presented not with research into the mechanism of party management of the social processes, but with a recounting of the resolutions of congresses and plenums and of other CPSU and republic party organization documents. Moreover, the author, at best, bases his work only on documents issued at the all-union and republic levels. The role of the oblast, city and rayon party committees and of primary party organizations is either omitted entirely, or is shown in separate, arbitrarily selected examples which, by force of their fragmentation, do not reflect the essence of the phenomena.

Attempting to fit real life into a dogmatic framework, historians have used all means to avoid contradictions: violations of the norms of party life, the disastrous consequences of libertarianism and subjectivism in the solution of national economic problems, and so on. All this has happened because the style of ostentation and show, which has recently become widespread in social and political life, has also had an influence on scholarly research. Works have come out which now, if viewed in the light of the documents from the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the 27th Party Congress, and the 21st Uzbek CP Congress and of subsequent party decisions, would not stand up to criticism. It is we, the social scientists, who are to blame for this.

The practical orientation of our research leaves much to be desired. Economists predict a considerable increase in the population of the republic. However we are going no further than verifying this prediction: what is needed is a complex, scientifically justified program, which would ensure solution of the socio-economic and cultural problems that arise in connection with this. The development of such a program is the scientific duty of the party's economists, philosophers, ethnographers, medical workers, and historians!

V.I. Lenin believed that there is no approach more bankrupt than pulling out individual facts, than playing games with examples -- in general, choosing examples is not worth doing. The facts must be taken as a whole, in relation to one another, to establish a foundation built of precise and unquestionable

facts and, so that this will be an effective foundation, it is necessary to take "the entire aggregate of facts related to the question under investigation, without a single exception, for otherwise a suspicion will arise, a perfectly natural suspicion, that the facts have been selected or picked out arbitrarily, that in place of the objective connection and mutual dependence of historical phenomena in their entirety, a subjective concoction is being presented as a justification, perhaps, for dirty business." Following the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee it became clear that social scientists who have distanced themselves from life's contradictions have become involuntary accomplices to such subjectivism. But, may the words of Vladimir Ilich ring out as a reproach to us today: "It is disgraceful cowardice -- to be afraid to look reality in the face."

A fundamental shortcoming of the publications of historians lies in their de-personalization of history, in the small amount of attention they pay to the role of the popular masses. Many production leaders and innovators and many party and government figures, who have devoted their lives to the revolution and to the people, remain unknown. A great deal of work needs to be done to create scientifically-based, special monographs which describe the activities of Lenin's comrades-in-arms in Uzbekistan -- of V.V. Kuybyshev, M.V. Frunze, G.K. Ordzhonikidze, Sh.Z. Eliava, Ya.E. Bauman, V.I. Ivanov, and others.

Many deficiencies in party-history research are conditioned by inadequate training of personnel. One reason lies in the absence of competitive selection for acceptance into post-graduate and doctoral candidate programs. Competitions exist only on paper; in practice, it frequently happens that only a person with great "penetrating power" can force his way into our science while, at the same time, the importance of family and local connections has flourished. It is here, particularly, that violation of the principle of social justice can be seen -- a special kind of caste system has started to form within science.

Today, we must have a system for preparing scientific personnel, in which no talent will go wasted. We need to establish specialized schools stressing history, philology, and economics. Talented young people who have completed such schools should be given a preferential right to enter a higher educational institution and, later, a scientific research institute and a post graduate program.

We, the party historians, are faced with the task of critically reexamining problem themes relating to past periods of history and of creating new, original works dedicated particularly to questions which derive from the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. Party historians have the duty to produce thorough-going research works dealing with the basic aspects of the policy of accelerating the country's social and economic development.

The subject of relationships between nationalities is particularly important. We have published a great deal of research concerning it. But the common shortcoming of this research lies in the fact that it does not sufficiently pursue the complicated contradictory processes which exist in the development of nationality relationships at the various stages of building socialism. Study of this problem presents not only scientific interest, but also has



great practical significance for making corrections and for developing new approaches and more effective and efficient forms and methods of educating working people in the principles of internationalism under modern conditions. It will contribute to overcoming localism, national egoism, and national and family egocentrism in the selection and assignment of personnel.

Study of this problem is closely intertwined with questions of unmasking Islamic and other religious ideologies. We are very weak in carrying out scientific-atheistic propaganda and are permitting blunders to occur in this area. It is well known that the mullahs in Central Asia are engaged in modernizing Islamic dogma and that they are spreading Islamic ideas not only in the mosques and bazaars, but are also organizing illegal religious schools. What has happened to our aggressiveness, to our militant materialism?

In recent times, our republic's party organization has stepped up its struggle against the vestiges of religion. But some people perceive this to be a strangulation of national interests and traditions. There are, however, traditions and there are traditions. We are for progressive, popular traditions, but we are against harmful ones, including religious traditions. They must be eradicated sensibly, on a scientific basis.

There is no excuse for the fact that, in our attraction for multi-volume editions, we have forgotten about creating popular historical literature, particularly regarding the progressive significance of uniting our territory to Russia and about the revolutionary liberation movements in Uzbekistan.

Concerning study of the historical past, I would like to note an unhealthy tendency -- certain social scientists are attempting to divide up the cultural and historical heritage of the Central Asian peoples according to national "curiae". The scholars of the distant past belong to all mankind, their works are the property of all peoples. Does it befit us, the scholars of the socialist stage of development, to introduce elements of contradiction into the consciousness of people, to create problems where there are none? In our works, we must do everything possible to unite the peoples of our country, to shed light on traditions of joint struggle against exploitation in the distant past.

Carrying out the policy of restructuring presupposes an ability to think and act in a new way. As was noted at the All-Union Conference of Social Science Faculty Heads, it is necessary to develop new conclusions which reflect the modern dialectic of life. The communists of the Institute of Party History have discussed the need to take account of leading experience and to learn from the lessons of life at an expanded session of its learned council and at an open party meeting. They spelled out specific measures to improve the situation. The plan of scientific research work during the current five-year plan was reviewed and specific corrections were made in keeping with the critical observations voiced by the 3rd Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee. It is planned to publish "Studies in the History of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan", in three volumes, as well as monographs devoted to the strategy of acceleration and to insufficiently studied questions concerning the period of revolution and socialist construction. A thorough-going, four-volume edition of "The Communist Party of Uzbekistan in the Resolutions of the



Congresses and Plenums of its Central Committee" is being prepared. A number of new works are being published on party construction in the modern period, and the work of the specialized and coordinated councils is being improved.

All our activity is directed toward eliminating the mistakes and deficiencies which were justly noted at the 3rd Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee. Without this, there can be no restructuring.

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CSU: 1830/305

## CULTURE

### PUBLISHING PLANS FOR NOVYY MIR REVEALED FOR 1987

PM051529 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 17 Feb 87 p 6

[Interview with NOVYY MIR Chief Editor S.P. Zalygin by unnamed correspondent, under the rubric "Journals": "NOVYY MIR-87"; date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] What will the journal publish in 1987? This question by our correspondent was answered by writer Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin, chief editor of the journal NOVYY MIR.

[Zalygin] The determination of the journal's orientation is not something recent. During the 60 years of its existence NOVYY MIR has developed good traditions which we would not want to break. We perceive our task as being to publish as many of the most interesting and most significant works as we can, primarily from among those being created in our time. We are also making the journal's pages available for the publication of authors whose works have been undeservedly forgotten or held back.

We would like to preserve some of the journal's academic orientation. This is why we appeal primarily to serious readers of serious and realistic prose and poetry.

We have declined the publication of thrillers, and have decided to venture into science fiction only on a very limited scale. We were told that there were fears that we would find no readers. It can already be said that these fears were to a certain extent quelled by the last subscription offer, which brought us an additional 90,000 readers.

We have already published two issues this year. The next three have also taken shape. In the first two issues we brought D. Granin's new novel "The Boffin" [Zubr] to our readers' attention. Those who value M. Bulgakov's works have probably already read the unpublished chapters of his novel "The White Guard" [Belaya Gvardiya], which the writer did not include in the final version, as well as commentaries on the novel which are, in our view, valuable from the viewpoint of literary science.

We will publish for the first time some of A. Tvardovskiy's prose, revealing new aspects of the writer's personality. Issue No 3 will offer the reader A. Adamovich's novel "The Last Pastoral" [Poslednyaya Pastoral]. Upcoming issues will contain V. Tendryakov's latest novel "Tilting at Windmills" [Pkusheniye na Mirazhi], a new novella by A. Bitov, M. Shatrov's historical documentary play "Peace or War" [Mir ili Voyna], and K. Chukovskiy's materials on A. Akhmatova.

Readers will become familiar with a new name in poetry. We have been given manuscripts by scientist D. Andreyev, son of the writer L. Andreyev, who wrote wonderful poems but did not publish a single line while he was alive. We have decided to do this now.

The work of our journal's criticism section is being restructured. It is necessary to emphasize that we are not setting ourselves the task of responding promptly to every event, trend, or controversial work appearing in our literature. This does not mean that we will avoid many topical problems. We would like our literary criticism articles not to be just polemical rejoinders to be forgotten the next day, but to analyze in depth the contemporary literary process and to have their own literary importance. We hope that the first step in this direction will be taken by the publication of Andrey Nuykin's article "New God-seeking and Old Dogmas."

By way of contrast, the task of reacting flexibly to events and problems of the present has been assigned to the current affairs section, on which we place great hopes. N. Shmelev has prepared an article entitled "What Next?" which deals with the most important questions of the state's economic development.

This year our whole country will celebrate Great October's 70th anniversary, and we are already thinking about our journal's issue No 11, in whose preparation we will be helped by the editorial office of the journal KOMMUNIST.

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## CULTURE

### WRITER AYTMATOV VIEWS CURRENT SOVIET MORALITY

PM201531 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 87 First Edition pp 3, 6

[Interview with Chingiz Aytmatov by PRAVDA correspondents Yu. Razgulyayev and V. Khatuntsev, datelined Frunze-Moscow and published under the rubric "Our Moral Values": "Chingiz Aytmatov: 'I Believe in Man.'"--no date of interview given; first paragraph is a PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] What does it mean to live by one's conscience? What should be one's civic stance under the conditions of democratization and openness, and what meaning attaches today to the terms social justice, prestige, and success in life? These and other questions, often encountered also in PRAVDA readers' letters, are the topic of conversation under the rubric "Our Moral Values." Today's interviewee is Chingiz Aytmatov.

[Correspondent] Time and morals, conscience and vanity, good and evil, truth and lies.... There has been no period throughout the recorded past when people have not pondered these eternal terms. Today, halfway through the 80's, we are in a kind of force field of great moral tension, where much of what is true and false must be sharply divided and one element separated from another--some to the plus side, others to the minus side. Tell us, Chingiz Torekulovich, what, in your opinion, has caused the urgency attached today to the problems of morality, social justice, and spirituality?

[Aytmatov] The changes which are now taking place in our society. I think that we would have reached this point of urgency sooner or later. Each generation lives through a kind of catharsis--a self-purification. After all, living people accumulate their own experience of life; explaining life has never been easy, and overcoming mistakes has been even more difficult. So, our society is now at such a historical turning point. Moreover, all spheres of life are geared for changes, restructuring is underway along the entire front, from the economy to culture. Even though we still retain the memory of various reforms and "alterations" of the past, they were not accompanied by profound moral and ethical quest among the broad strata of the population and were not aimed so directly at the personality of each individual. Now everything seems to be different. But what has actually happened?



Experience, the everyday experience of the living generation, has proved that moral culture and spiritual education are slow to change. However, while previously this process was somehow unnoticeable against the background of immense economic tasks, with the passage of time it started having an effect on all aspects of life, including the economic aspect. Today's problems show unambiguously what kind of an effect that was. The people's moral culture is the most valuable capital. If it is lacking, no one should expect high standards of awareness.

The world has become more dynamic: Here we have psychological stress, floods of all sorts of information, the threat of a thermonuclear conflagration--all this must be taken into account, all this has an effect on man and mankind. As technology developed, the technocratic approach started gaining dominance in life and we noticed a shortage of the humanitarian way of thinking; after all, humanity in matters great and small depends on the extent to which people value the ideas of community, social equality, truth, sincerity, and good. We must not compromise the moral principles which are typical of our social system as an example of the achievement of mankind's ideals. The fundamental ones among these principles are: conscientious labor for the benefit of society, humane relations and mutual respect among people, honesty and truthfulness, and implacability toward injustice. Actually, these are the components of conscience, and conscience in turn is the driving force of civic-mindedness.

I would like to say in this context that, in my view, the term "morality" does not lend itself to any innovations, let alone to any primitive politicization. Morality is the primordial and supreme law of existence for all societies, all classes, and all people. Each generation and each individual perceives it as an immutable and sacred behest from its forebears. It is important for man and for society as a whole to rigorously adhere to these norms always--in matters great and small.

The demands as regards moral order, sincerity, principle, and strict correspondence between word and deed are particularly great now, under the conditions of restructuring and reviewing many aspects of our life. Unfortunately, it somehow happened in our country in the last few years that some people proved to have absolutely no inner moral brakes, that they had totally lost their conscience. And yet, man's real nature is manifested when he lives by his conscience, when his actions are motivated not by someone else but by his own conscience, by the inner, main, and infallible judge. It may not be always easy to live and act by one's conscience, but it is the nobility of conscience that animates society's life with ideas and dreams and makes it possible to maintain the eternal commandments of morality in a state of model purity. It is greatly to be regretted, however, that deviations from the model, and highly serious ones at that, are also inevitable. Surely there are grounds for complex deliberations, since we are now talking bluntly about conscience and duplicity, about downright fraud in the economy, in management, and in law enforcement institutions.

[Correspondent] In their letters, PRAVDA readers raise a legitimate question: Why is it that previously we all saw, we understood, but we kept silent?

[Aytmatov] The way you said "we" made it sound like "you," the writers?....

[Correspondent] No, "we" really meant—we....

[Aytmatov] Fair enough, let's carry on the conversation from this angle....

There is no peaceful confrontation between good and evil: They are in a state of permanent struggle and hostility. At the level of daily life this confrontation is often presented in terms of conventional and commonplace compromises: Thieves are mildly described as pilferers, and down-right fools as people who are incompetent in this or that. Many people find compromises suitable: People whose conscience is not clear, as well as people who are honest but only want a quiet life. Half-truths, halfway measures, and all sorts of partial punishments are deemed "useful."

Morality is at times slotted into convenient coexistence with vices, in other words the ceiling of morally permissible sins is lowered. It is thus true that things were seen and understood, but by no means everyone struggled against them. Let me say this: As life gets better, many people lose their implacability toward shortcomings; I would say that we lose our revolutionary-mindedness.

But don't let us equivocate: Compromise as a "method of existence" is still with us to a large extent. There is much that we have not understood in the recent past, so we will not learn any lessons for the future unless this time we fully grasp why it is that we do not always exercise self-mastery. Some people understand in their minds that something should not be done but do it nevertheless, trying not to hear the voice of their consciences and trying to deceive themselves. And this is more fatal than anything else--the result is a disintegration of personality, and a person can ruin his entire life. It is unfortunate that we do not always remember this.

And another point: On what basis is power, be it extensive or limited, placed in the hands of people who are morally not entitled to it? What qualities are considered, as a rule, when promoting officials? Businesslike, efficient, exacting, morally firm--yes. But what is his moral creed, does he comply with the lofty spiritual mood in our society, is he honest and fair? Unfortunately, these qualities of an individual are often considered secondary as regards the management machinery. Consequently, we hear from various places reports of official crimes--corruption, bribery, overreporting, protectionism, mutual protection. A shortage of conscience can lead to the most sophisticated antisocial actions.

And what happens if such forces of public influence as publicity, criticism, monitoring, and inevitability of punishment are curtailed? The result is quite bad. No, each and every one of us, including us writers, must now get down energetically to improving the entire atmosphere of our life. And this improvement must pervade the specific actions and deeds of each one of us. Man's lofty morality is always directly dependent on his

self-discipline and his live of work. It is also important to perceive that the fresh wind has already thoroughly blown away the cobwebs from many of our dark corners.

[Correspondent] Of course, restructuring is first and foremost needed in ideological and educational work, as the party documents state. But here we have a problem: Many traditional forms and methods of ideological and moral education no longer correspond with modern demands. To put it briefly, we still do not always reach people's minds. Why is this?

[Aytmatov] Educating people is a matter of gradual work. A personality must be shaped in the first place! And this must be done in terms of some "statistical average inhabitant." In principle, any person can acquire various beliefs, but this is done over a period of years rather than all at once, in other words through a person's practical experience and the social psychology of his environment. But the result of such internal work does not always work to the advantage of our world philosophy. As a rule, deviations from moral norms take the form of deeds and misdeeds. But this is already in the realm of actions. Let us look a little deeper: Perhaps the most frightening aspect consists of ideological duplicity, hypocrisy, and acquisition of social benefits and public station at the expense of moral time-serving.

Why is it that, while living under identical conditions, some people grow us virtuous while others are capable of doing evil? I don't intend to delve into psychology, but it is clear that, in matters of ideological and moral education, we should long ago have given up general poster slogans, uniformity, and theorizing which is detached from practice and the present. It is only too often that sound initiatives swiftly become formal in our country. And this in turn results in the emergence of functionaries who transform a living idea into dead dogma.

True enough, it must be said that dogmatism follows closely on any system and any idea. No idea can be guaranteed not to succumb to dogmatization. And what hides behind dogma? Formalism, which engenders unthinking bureaucracy and dull hectoring. But people's awareness, especially their awareness today, rejects this type of propaganda style and methods. Now we are increasingly seeking different approaches to the human soul, and the main point here is that people should know the truth, and that sincerity and honesty—even though they do not always come easy—should predominate in the information available to society.

[Correspondent] I recall that some 5 years ago we spoke with you about the passion some of our young people have for things foreign, for musical trends that are fashionable in the West....

[Aytmatov] Do you mean that today the number of these young people has diminished, or that this passion of theirs has cooled down? This is easy to explain: We are not inhabiting this world on our own. Here we are faced with another problem. For a long time we leaned toward our socialist advantages, trying to extol the achievements both when merited

and sometimes ahead of time. This became a habit for more than just one generation. But the world is no longer what it used to be, which means that there must be a more flexible and a more refined understanding of the interconnection and interdependence of the civilizations which confront one another in it. After all, there are things we can learn from the West on the production and technical level, and especially in the services sphere. It would be important for us, in the spirit of the time and of our tasks, to find some sort of dynamic equivalent to the competition engendered by the "Western toys" which are so much desired by some of our young people.

[Correspondent] Perhaps recently there have been fewer fears that attitudes which are "alien" to us could infiltrate among young people in the wake of blue jeans and rock music. But it is probably worth remembering that ideological struggle has been, still is, and will remain with us. A certain category of people express doubts: Are we not damaging ourselves by speaking so openly about shortcomings? And especially as regards problems involving young people?

[Aytmatov] Vladimir Ilich Lenin described publicity figuratively as a wound-healing sword. And this is so. The lessons of the past are a means for cleansing the present of mistakes and for more clearly perceiving in it, in our present, the shoots and signs of our future. Recently we have been speaking frankly about everything. We are thus helping young people to see the path they must follow. But every new generation has its own tasks and its own understanding of affinity with the people and their history. Why should one invariably feel annoyed whenever young people want to dig out the truth for themselves, to demolish the stereotypes, and to express their attitude to life? This is a prerogative of their age, the first social outpouring of their soul. And with our attempts to impose uniformity on all young people and bring them up according to stereotypes, we only nurture in our children, in the next generation, an exemplary obedience which at times turns into various violations. As for the special susceptibility of young people to all kinds of influences from abroad, here we must also show greater flexibility. At the same time, we need solid barriers against obviously dangerous and obviously evil things. Especially the intolerable evil of drug addiction!

I have already said that all vices originating in the West must be a warning and a lesson for us. I, for example, resolutely condemn the unemployment which causes suffering to so many people in the West. It does not exist in our country, everyone seems to be employed. But what do we see: A genuine worker and a loafer getting on with one another in the same shop, coexisting at the same level, living in identical apartments.... No, I cannot accept that, either. Is this a manifestation of equality and humanity under socialism? And how much reliance can one place on conscience, on reeducation.... The time has probably come to reward people really according to their labor and their ability in the sphere of distribution of benefits and to put an end to leveling.



[Correspondent] Chingiz Torekulovich, our reader V. Nesterovich (from Minsk) writes that he has imprinted in his mind the image of your hero Boston, who not only worked according to his conscience but also made everyone under him work in the same fashion. Many of those he had schooled he also helped on in life, teaching them to work and thus to value their working life. Boston frankly disliked and did not understand those who did not pursue this goal. He considered such people useless. He was reserved and unfriendly toward them. He knew that this made many people abuse him behind his back, calling him a miser and a kulak and regretting that Boston had been born too late for his bones to rot in the Siberian snows. As a rule, Boston did not respond to any abuse because he never doubted that truth was on his side, that there could be no other way, that otherwise the world would turn upside down. He was as firmly convinced of this as he was of the fact that the sun rises in the east.

But why is it, our reader asks, that Boston, Yedigey from Buran, and numerous heroes altogether have to uphold the sacred right of integrity?

[Aytmatov] Unfortunately, qualities like industry, scrupulousness, probity, and conscientiousness—which have been valued in man from time immemorial—are still far from being given priority in the actual upbringing and shaping of the individual. People are almost convinced that success in life can only be achieved through high-handedness, craftiness, and acquisition of benefits from some "cushy job" somewhere in the trade network or the services sphere or at the level of service abroad. This distorts the ideas of social justice and supplants the criteria of man's genuine worth. Even though material prosperity, in theory, should not prevent a person from accumulating spiritual riches. But it must also be said that the bearers of the consumerist mentality, with their long-established petit-bourgeois militancy, are not averse to squeezing those who pursue moral ideals and seek spiritual perfection. And at times this antagonism takes acute forms.

[Correspondent] How is it to be countered? Do you recall how, some 25 years ago, you got into difficulties with your public statement "You Are to Blame, Fellow-countrymen!" in defense of the trampled dignity of a woman from the rural settlement of Sheker. How do you perceive the civic stance today?

[Aytmatov] The words speak for themselves--civic, and a stance indeed, because they convey the meaning of assertiveness and principle, and today primarily active assistance in restructuring. A most important attribute of human nature is the desire to declare itself as an individual. If there is no opportunity to do so, or if any desire to be active comes across arrant formalism, the result is disenchantment, and everything that is truly individual gets hidden behind the faceless mask of just an average performer of orders. And what we need today are individuals!

Yes, man is constantly faced with choices. Will he sit on the fence, will he bide his time, or will he join in the fight for justice--everything depends on how convinced he is that he is right, on his character, on



his sympathy with others. Life gives everyone an opportunity, a bridgehead to uphold his beliefs, and there is a particular need for this under present conditions--to assist moral cleansing, to affirm moral principles, and to learn the ways of free competition [sopernichestvo] between opinions and views, the ways of polemics. After all, many negative phenomena can and must be perceived at their embryonic stage, thus preventing their proliferation and localizing them.

Today's orientation toward the democratization of our life and of the mutual relations between man and society is a pressing and very important question of our development. But I do think that this process should not be either oversimplified or hurried on under any circumstances. It has already been said--and not by me--that we must learn to live under conditions of democracy and openness. Interests must converge, they must be mutual, and then any honest person will understand that his stance is important to the cause, that he is not just a nut or a bolt inside some machine but indeed a fully-fledged citizen of a free and great state.

But social institutions must also be restructured, they must turn toward people, toward their requirements and needs. Much depends here on the leaders, on how they themselves perceive the tasks of the time.

[Correspondent] Reading through the materials of the 18th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress held a year ago, one cannot fail to note the procedure for cadre promotion which prevailed in the republic earlier. Many officials were selected on the basis of personal loyalty, kinship, and local ties, cadre questions were decided by individuals, toadyism and intrigues were encouraged.... How, in your opinion, are we to prevent positions of power being occupied by people who are definitely ungifted and mediocre, who have proved themselves not by their actions but by means of obsequiousness and servility toward their bosses?

[Aytmatov] No one is disputing the fact that people promoted to leadership positions must be intelligent, gifted with a leader's talents, and capable of placing the interests of the cause above their personal interests. The discipline of subordination and execution is, of course, necessary. But this does not mean blind obedience. On the contrary, a leader's most valuable qualities should be self-reliance, independence of any ties and patronage, and the ability to uphold his opinions and take risks. These are the people who must be sought out, educated, and promoted. And this process must contain more publicity and more consultation with the people.

It is gratifying that now we encounter more and more often newspaper articles describing the promotion of leaders by the labor collectives themselves. There are gratifying reports about competitions to fill the positions of team leader or shop foreman. We cannot have enough of them! These democratic forms must permeate the entire social structure, from top to bottom. Not like instances when a new lolkhoz chairman is brought from the rayon center to the village: "Vote for him!" Who is he, what is he like, can he work with people? No one knows.

Speaking on a wider scale, we probably ought to admit frankly that we still have not finally eradicated the well-known influence of the personality cult, which has grown deep roots within our very selves. In our work style. In our mutual relations.

The recent past has shown that a compromising attitude to flaws in the education and style of leadership, to the regeneration of the personality cult produces nothing but recurrences of the revival of old, worthless displays. Now we have finally gotten rid of at least the mandatory lists of splendid titles when presenting a leader to society. This is how it used to be: Before the man appeared in front of people, he was preceded by a long train of the offices he held, his titles, ranks, and awards. Now we are at least not worried about whom to extol and how, to what extent to extol him, and with what phrase to begin lauding him. Honestly speaking, though, even here not everything is yet in order.

To put it briefly, remnants of the personality cult constitute one of our "difficult problems," and, even though we pretend that they do not exist, they really do and they make themselves felt from time to time. This was manifested particularly strongly in works of literature and art in the 70's and early 80's.

[Correspondent] Speaking of democratization, we cannot ignore those who expect that restructuring will, one way or another, dwindle down to nothing and--or so they claim--life itself will force us to resort to the proven, arbitrary style and methods both in the economy and in social relations. You have experienced much in life, you have pondered a lot.... What could you say about this?

[Aytmatov] Those who long for the past are largely to blame for the acute problems we are facing today. But if you say this to their faces, they gasp: What do you mean, we were at the head, we achieved!... It appears to them that they were at the head. But until the economy is raised to a new level, they should not claim too much credit.

The time in which we are fated to live is complex, it is overshadowed, let me repeat, primarily by the threat of a nuclear apocalypse, but, both on a universal scale and within the framework of our internal problems and quests, all hopes rest on man, his reason and soul, and his humanistic being. Yes, our society is living through a crucial revolutionary period, the scalpel of openness threatens many sore parts, and problems with moral connotations bear the stamp of prolonged silence about them and at times even of encouragement of various negative phenomena. So a fundamental restructuring is demanded in ideology.

There is, however, no need for any of the illusory optimism whereby some people are already striving to present the initial steps as major strides. But it would also be a mistake to look pessimistically at reality. I believe that man's spiritual strength, our enormous and complex experience in overcoming difficulties, and the people's moral sense and self-awareness will impart a new meaning to the time and the country's life. We must enter the 21st century as a renewed and dynamic society whose main asset and hope is Man! Man with a lofty morality!

## CULTURE

### LESSONS OF MOVIE ABOUT YOUNG VIGILANTE DISCUSSED

PM021139 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by M. Murzina under the rubric "Cinema": "About Children For Adults. Notes on the Movie 'Plumbum, or Dangerous Game'"]

[Text] It might seem strange and complex, this movie (director V. Abdrashitov, screenplay by A. Mindadze, cameraman G. Rerberg). However, "strange" is most frequently just a synonym for unusual and new. Its complexity lies in the fact that it requires the viewer to use his mind and heart instead of the habit of easily accepting what does not trouble or affect him. "Plumbum..." does indeed have an effect and "abrades the soul."

"Plumbum" (lead) is the school nickname of Ruslan Chutko, a 15-year-old boy (played by Anton Androsov). He is the chief hero and the chief enigma of the movie. On the face of it, the boy is from a successful family and is a good student ("we're in line for a medal!"). Plumbum's inner world is clear: Doubts, illusions, pain, a troubled mind--these are all unknown to him. He has a purpose in life (unlike many of his own age)--to fight evil. Not abstract evil but specific evil. And not in words but in action. He has decided to "clear out the garbage" from his home city. But until he is accepted into a voluntary detachment of militia helpers, he acts alone, recklessly and fearlessly. He observes and tails people. He pursues and blackmails. He might even make friends, if necessary, and then, to put it simply, "squeal" on them. And then vagrants, Plumbum's erstwhile buddies for whom he would fetch beer, are being bundled into militia vehicles. And then, on a "signal" from him, someone who has gotten into trouble finds himself behind bars. And then, by chance, he detains his own father among poachers...

Such a "bad good boy." The new hero is a problem character. A social phenomenon. It is in this figure that the problems raised by the picture are concentrated. The boy is active, bold, purposeful--what else? All around there are so many complaints about the passivity, infantilism, and "acquisitiveness" of the rising generation, and suddenly here is a hero with an impressive range of social virtues! But imagine that this is your son, brother, or friend or, say, a future guardian of law and order, and you will certainly not like it. This boy "with principles" is essentially an antihero. How strangely and dangerously, how unexpectedly

recognizably the times--the past and the present--are perceived in his consciousness and how many bitter and painful questions and associations he gives rise to! And what an alarming warning he sounds today... The right idea but dubious means, to put it mildly. The right words--but uncommon mental deafness and moral inarticulateness. Unconditional appropriation of the right to sit in judgment over other people. Violence and provocation as the norm in the struggle against evil. And therefore Plumbum's social activeness provokes not just hostility but fear. It would seem impossible to be mistaken here: The makers of the picture give us a clear-cut system of moral guidelines in it.

...Discussion of the picture. A viewer, a coeval of Plumbum, with bright eyes: "I would like to be like him. I too believe that the end is the chief thing, and the means are not that important." A young woman, apparently a pedagogue: "A modern film, it is about the struggle against unearned income and crime, how much it is possible to be kind, to suffer and keep silent!" Of course, viewers condemned the boy, feared him, and were perplexed: "We do not have such children, he is untypical!" But some people still saw him as a model for imitation, taking the antihero as a real hero. Does this mean there is something abnormal not just in Plumbum's character?

Today, when social justice is actively being asserted and when everything iniquitous must be overcome and eradicated, this picture represents a serious attempt to become familiar with a far from secondary part of our uneasy social experience. Keenly perceiving a seemingly almost imperceptible trend, it warns: A stand in the struggle against evil which gives rise to new evil is terrible. The path to a lofty goal is iniquitous if it is not illumined by goodness and love, humanism and purity, and, finally, reason.

Even with the most correct and necessary principles, a situation fraught with the danger of Plumbum's appearing could take shape in society. In an atmosphere of unspirituality and indifference the ideas of struggle and cleansing, if not backed up by a moral reserve (for example, at the level of elementary norms of humanity, truisms, and childish notions of "what is good and what is bad"), can assume very distorted forms.

Is it a coincidence, for example, that today it is by no means "difficult" but quite "positive" boys and girls, excellent pupils and activists, who beat up their own classmates in free time out of lessons and Komsomol meetings? Or who join up in groups and mete out lynch law to those whom they consider criminals, "cleaning up" their street, settlement, or city. Blindly and without looking back, in the name of a primitively understood lofty aim. And essentially mocking it, without themselves being aware of this. No, our Plumbum is not alone, he has "conferees..."

It has to be remembered that the falsehood, hypocrisy, formalism, and immorality of the "adult world" lead to profound distortions in young, not yet strengthened souls.



It is a very restrained movie, rigidly and logically structured, and almost ascetic in terms of means of expression. But, despite the conciseness of its form, it is surprisingly full of content and profound in its treatment of social problems.

Where does he come from, this boy? A half-child, in whom there is almost nothing childlike: It is not for nothing that he says he is "40 years old." Indeed, he has taken on a task that not every adult is capable of, he knows all "about life," and he has mastered all truths and all slogans to perfection. But he has not yet begun his own life, having learned to hate before loving. To suspect before trusting. To chastise before feeling pity. But do not be in a hurry to judge our "hero." He is just the effect, behind which you must know how to see the causes. "Dangerous game..." This is not just a reference to the game that Plumbum plays as a meter-out of justice. It is, above all, a reference to the "games" that adults play with him today. Understanding this means giving one more answer to the question of where the boy gets his cruel, unchildish, repellent features from, to the question of why the movie about Plumbum has been made today.

In the picture the boy exists in a very specific milieu in life, among specific people. But we are given certain signs and symbols of that milieu, models of human relationships. Therefore, from the viewpoint of direct correspondences to life and daily routine, much in the movie might seem unreal and even implausible. Here there is no usual flow of life or everyday details. We are offered a different principle of selecting and showing material of reality. It is a movie-image. An image of a cold, uncomfortable, formalized little world. Heartless and unspiritual. Every detail, every frame "works" for the overall idea and provides "information for thought."

The city... Buildings that oppress with their huge bulk. Giant stone statues. A standard school. Tastelessly pompous interiors of a restaurant and the House of Culture. Dim, dilapidated basements where drunken vagrants hide and where the public order maintenance center is also housed.

The family... Three people in the shot. Father and mother—happy, cultured (but hear what Ruslan himself says about them: "They do not exist, but they do exist because they must exist"). Evening teatime: eyes on the television set, words mechanical and habitual, albeit with a smile. All is there, all is good, all is as it must be: photo-wallpaper (fashion, comfort), skating (sport, leisure), the three of them singing Okudzhava to a guitar (spirituality). The rules of the game are observed... The culmination is a scene where the son interrogates the father. Now something must happen! How guardedly, almost with fear, the father peers into the boy's face: "Perhaps you simply like power?" The reply comes in fragmentary words, according to protocol: First name? Surname? Year of birth? That is all. It is late. And there will just be a request to the boy—not a word to mother. The rules of the game must be observed.

The most dangerous game is that of "detective." Let us recall that it also has another name: "I mete out justice." At first the boy is not accepted into the game. But certainly not out of concern for the young soul. The uncle-detectives cannot fail to see the sincerity of his motives, nor can they fail to be slightly afraid of his zeal, and... they choose the worst way to use it--"in the sphere of information." As a "decoy duck," some kind of depersonalized being. And Plumbum, with their help confirmed in that right to control people's destinies, also starts "playing" with others, now dictating the rules of the game himself. Having accepted them, Sonya, a bright, pure girl in love with him, dies in the end...

The adults "play"--the children pay.

In the end, this movie is about adults and for adults. It is about moral bankruptcy, about the poverty of the "moral fund" of the adults' world that surrounds the boy. About its staggering indifference. The authors of the movie do not make a statement or judgment. They urge you to be conscious of your responsibility for those who have come into this world thanks to you and after you, and into the world as you have made it. That is why this rather terrifying boy needs understanding. And pity. This intonation is felt very plainly in the picture. He is, essentially, dreadfully alone. People have robbed him, done him out of his fair share of love, compassion, sincerity, and warmth.

The movie reminds us how acute the "need for human feeling" is today. Morality and humanity are being elevated to the rank of the most important social categories. There is no goodness in the movie, but it awakens activeness in the soul and the desire for good. It teaches most subtle and dramatic dialectics of good and evil, right and wrong, truth and delusion. It reminds us of the past. It makes us anxious about the future.

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## CULTURE

### WRITER QUESTIONS LEGALITY OF ART SALE IN MARKET SQUARE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 6 Dec 86 p 8

[Article by I. Dudinskiy: "Sundays in Bittsa: Notes of an Interested Viewer"; first paragraph in boldface]

[Text] Quite a few photo features and favorable articles have appeared about the festival in the capital's Bittsa Woods every Sunday (Novyye Cheremushki old-timers remember it as Zyuzinskiy Woods). Literally all of Moscow now knows about "artists' alley", a spontaneously-organized club, a "phenomenon of social activeness." A new capital "sight" has appeared before our very eyes on initiative "from below," a public attraction, a leisure activity for thousands of people....

The atmosphere is as natural as possible. It's like plunging into a festival, a trade fair or a pageant. Discussion abounds. Musicians and folk groups are performing. Poems are being read. You might run into anybody: actors, writers, scientists. Clearly, they are more than weekend curiosity-seekers. You catch yourself thinking: all this should be closer to the city center. There's the Hermitage, the Tverskoy Boulevard theater strip....

What a clever idea! You may like it or not, but Bittsa is now one of the "crossroads" of Moscow cultural life. The response to what is being offered for sale varies wildly (incidentally, these short Sunday hours are for many more than a chance to buy; they are also valuable for meeting others). The appraisals of it range from "very professional" to "nothing worth looking at." I should say both are right. But it is not a question of judgement. Bittsa is, after all, foremost a spontaneous response to a situation which has evolved in the artist-to-viewer chain, in the system of trade in works of pictorial art. Is it really any secret that Artists' Fund salons, with their "extortionate" prices and often insipid assortment, are not the capital's "trade points" visited most often?

Probably the best part about Bittsa is the prices, and the ability to buy, as they say, first-hand, from the artists themselves. And, while you're at it, to talk and argue about art.

What is for sale? Vivid landscapes, pointedly decorative flowers, still lifes, figurative compositions suitable for the most refined interior, multicolored partitions "for the kitchen," painted clay penny-whistles.

There are many "snapshot painters" who will do a portrait of you in 15 minutes. Some are rather far from being accomplished artists, but then again, they don't claim to be.... Of course, one sees works that are obviously amateurish, hopeless and crude. But this is art in the park! Take a look around: are people buying it?

"Kitschmongers Lane," where people spread out their stuff, using string to hang up mermaids, swans and kittens. And the asking price is strictly for the tourists. But if they show up a couple of times and don't make a dime, if nobody wants it, if there are no customers, if there is no interest, then one doesn't see them there anymore.

Two in the afternoon, "rush hour" at the fair. Already there's no parking on the road the woods are on. You can't see the "goods" for the crowd. But order and discipline are "satisfactory." And nobody is selling under the table anything that doesn't have to do with artistic creativity.

Unfortunately, there are thus far no legal precedents for operating such a bazaar, for legitimating it, so to speak. Its existence therefore still depends on someone's good or ill will. The artists are hitching the future of such fairs to the recently adopted "Law on Individual Labor Activity," but there are still many questions. Today, one can sell a wax candle "fashioned after" Maillol, an amusing ostrich or crocodile puppet, or a rabbit for the new year. No doubt about it: Point 6 of Article 12 of the law states that manufacturing toys and souvenirs is among the activities permitted within the realm of handicrafts. The law is also clear about traditional folk art. But what about canvas paintings, drawings and engravings? Even if they are called "decorative-applied art items" (Article 20), they must be "marketed with the consent of the appropriate arts council." Given the spontaneity of Bittsa, setting up such a "council" is, quite understandably, impossible for all practical purposes. One can but hope that the local soviets, which are given very broad powers to apply the law creatively, will find an optimum resolution before next May. Moscow is not the only place waiting for that resolution. Clubs like the Bittsa exist in several cities. Let's hear what the lawyers and the finance agency workers think.

What about an organization like the Art Fund? It will be interesting to see what lessons will be drawn by its leadership from the appearance of a "competing organization."

For the time being, though.... For the time being, the search for a way out of this situation has generated only new questions. The culture department of the Sevastopol Rayon ispolkom has prepared a document it calls a draft charter for the "Bittsa" artists' society. It consists of a verbose preamble with about 40 points and subpoints concerning the rights and duties of the members of the proposed society. It is essentially (and ispolkom workers confirmed this in personal conversations with me) a statement that the site of the market will be surrounded by a tall fence, with admission granted only to licensed sellers and to customers paying a 30-kopeck fee. And licenses would be issued to those contributing 10 rubles a month to the society's treasury. What for? To pay for the couple of administrators anticipated in the proposed



charter. Bittsa habitues make fun of this draft charter. But I have talked personally with some who want those posts, and they're ready to "implement" it.

"And what if someone doesn't want to give up a ten-spot to pay your salary, but just takes his paintings and displays them outside the fence?" I asked.

"We'll call the cops and drive them off," was the immediate response.

"And it'll start all over again?"

But they had their minds made up. And how! They were star-struck by the idea of a post "in the arts," with the power to make decisions and give orders.

There are quite a few questions now about creating cost-accounting creative organizations. The effort by artists at very different levels to unite to solve common problems is natural. Life will probably suggest new and different forms of contact between artist and viewer. The main thing is not to be frightened by them, but to seek creative solutions.

Let's turn to the experience of similar enterprises in Moscow, such as the Bird Market, also a Sunday amateurs' club. Everyone can go there, and it's free. But if you want to sell something, you pay for a spot and stay there until closing. Among these "fowl fans," there's no need to have people to verify the "presence of membership certificates."

Local agencies might consider setting up Sunday art fairs in the capital center. If, that is, there are buildings that could accomodate such a many-colored art and its creators--the former Roman Catholic church on Malaya Gruzinskaya, for example. Incidentally, it is right opposite the Moscow City Cultural Workers' Trade Union Committee building. It's now a warehouse, but the artists are proposing converting this architectural monument into a real cultural center, one which could also eventually be both an exhibit hall and a commercial salon where works of art could be sold at reasonable prices. And the lot it's on could be an "art square" and permanent festival.

There's no need for nervousness, no rush to work it all out, as one TV commentator would like. After all, art is equally intolerant of fawning praise and meddling supervision. It is both bread and air, and it is something we need every hour of every day, something that must always be before us. To do this, however, it needs to be accessible, and accessible in the literal sense of the word as well.

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## CULTURE

### SHOW FOR YOUNG ARTISTS SEEN AS FAILURE

Art Critic on '17th' Exhibit in Kuznetskiy

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by M. Sokolov, candidate of art criticism: "Vicissitudes of the '17th'"; first paragraph is MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The regular exhibits of works by young Moscow artists on Kuznetskiy Bridge have become a good tradition. The latest, the 17th, is here. It is unusual in every respect, pointedly experimental and conceived by its planners as a response to the taut, dynamic rhythm of our day. And it has captured the viewers' attention.

While still on the street, one is struck by the 1920's-style open-ended designs which seem to blur the dividing line between inside and outside. The display rooms are often cleverly arranged, overcoming the usual boring exhibit stereotypes. The photographs and texts introduce the viewing public to a study in contemporary artistic life, to the history of the young people's exhibits and to the stories of the participants themselves. The organizers and designers of the exhibit (I. Lubennikov and A. Skokan) worked hard and enthusiastically, doing their utmost to enliven the dialog between the works and the viewers as much as possible. The right to experiment has been stated loudly, energetically and fervidly.

All the "stage effects" and attempts to create a vivid sense of participation in creative labor are intriguing, of course. But the experiments are not being conducted for their own sake. This is not just for fun, but is a planned path to a specific goal. "In order for an experiment to succeed," Albert Einstein said, "one must know what one wants to find."

The "17th" program itself would seem to state the goal clearly: "to show the diversity of the directions of modern young people's art." But the deeper one gets into the exhibition, the more doubts and misgivings are raised about its understanding of this goal. The easel paintings are especially alarming on this level, which is natural, inasmuch as it is pointedly in a central, crossroads location.

The variegated, multifaceted styles on display here assume, perhaps with full justification, a diversity of critical approaches. But a considerable number of the pictorial works displayed must be judged to be inconsequential, by any criterion we select.

Fashion? We are supposedly being offered something super-contemporary, something claiming to be a stylistic benchmark for our times. But the timid imitations of pop-art, photorealism and other "isms" of Western modern art point towards very old patterns, from a decade and a half to two decades ago.

Quality? But so much here is raw, hastily-done, slovenly painting in any stylistic terms, with damp, flaccid patches instead of sonorous strokes, infantile scrawls masquerading as "primitive," instead of competent composition. Nearly all the participants, we are told, are confidently mastering the foundations of artistic literacy, that everything we see is an "embellishment." But nonetheless, doubts often creep in about whether such a solid foundation has in fact been laid, or about whether, in "embellishing," some of the young artists are actually very cleverly covering up their utmost ignorance.

Tradition? In terms of the central items in the exhibit, there is no comparison with the traditions of Soviet realistic classicism. There is not even a hint of the avant-gardism of the 1920's the creative young people are so passionately interested in. Given all its contradictions, that was in fact art, art charged to the hilt with strong social activism. That is, it had what is glaringly absent from a majority of the works here.

Content? Dim shadows instead of figures, squalid manlings like misshapen, decrepit dolls shaken out of a junkman's sack, a faceless human "meat" filling out the painting's space.... And all this put together, someone triumphantly proclaims to be "the new art." I beg to differ. This low farce can hardly be said to have anything in common with the passionate sincerity of, for example, modern Soviet literature which, at its best, has done much to pave the way for the present social renewal. The critical "dearth of humaneness" in the pictures here is depressing, transformed into an ugly kind of ornamentation. And that's not a slip of the tongue: it is precisely "reverse ornamentation" when the claim to criticism is in fact a painful measure of Beauty, not backed up by skill, and degenerating into a rote pattern, a featureless grotesque.

The exhibit cannot lay any claim to authoritatively representing "the main lines of young people's art." The tendentiousness of the assortment here is obvious.

But, on that background, one can single out a plenitude of thoughtful, inspired works which are actually of high quality. The list would include the romantic Moscow scenes by V. Braynin and A. Zverev, the pensive and radiant genre composition by I. Gavrilov, the major decorative-monumental study by K. Merpert, and others. The monumental art section could have been interesting, but for its dull, unsuccessful photographs lost between rows of indifferent easel paintings. The bazaar-like beauty competes, with varying degrees of success, with the subtle decorativism in the exhibit's applied arts.

In the entrance section, there are quite a few effective, vivid, graphically clever posters. It's really too bad that what can be seen at our young people's exhibits probably has very little chance of wide circulation. The sculpture, the bulk of which is appreciably superior to the nearby paintings, is distinguished by its professional workmanship and by the abundance of original finds in portraits and the minor plastic arts.

The stage sets section resounds with sanguinity, with a nuance of mischievous inventiveness. Here, the carnival grotesque that is pretentious and even banal in many easel works, has seemingly been reborn and is in its element. As with the posters, one is sorry to see so often placards saying "not built...."

Like the sculpture, the graphics are certainly not the weakest section of the exhibit. K. Pobedin's plates, with their energetic, stern social comment, the landscapes by T. Tsyplakova, and the poetic urban scenes by Ye. Adamov, G. Shif and N. Krashchina are reminiscent of the romantic compositions of N. Zakharova and O. Monina. A large, complex, restless city is in general a constant strong impetus to going beyond the limits of studio-bound prospecting for a problematic vision of daily life. New works by Andersen, Feuchtwanger, Shakespeare, Hoffman, Zabolotskiy and other authors would gain immensely, in a decorative sense, from the inclusion of the finely-drawn book illustrations on display at the "17th."

The utopian architectural drawings A. Brodskiy, I. Utkin and others have created by synthesizing blueprint sketches and science-fiction visions will doubtless be a new genre to the viewing public at large.

In a word, there are quite a few islands of genuine skill at the "17th." But they are just that, islands, scattered and in isolation. Paradoxical as it may seem, though this exhibit was planned and prepared especially carefully, fleshed out with a diverse cultural program and, I guess, initially conceived by its producers as itself being an intrinsically valuable three-dimensional work of art, it is in its very structure that the exhibit turns out to be weakest, as the exhibits are not displayed as they deserve to be, but are rather an avalanche of unartistic stunts. There is practically no center, no heart, because what de facto becomes the focus of attention in no way represents what is best in our young people's art today. And none of the ancillary methods -- designer, sociological, descriptive-art -- is able to make up for this fundamental disorientation, in spite of the professionalism they reflect.

And the vicissitudes of this "exhibit-experiment" make themselves felt directly in the viewer reaction. Coming in to Kuznetskiy, you encounter the full range of emotions in the display rooms of the House of Art: disbelief, passionate enthusiasm, indignation and apathy. But the exhibit hardly facilitates thoughtful contemplation and profound dialogue with the image. After all, though, the perpetual purpose of every young people's exhibit is not simply to show the latest in artistic style (which is never all that new, by the way), as to be a place to learn, a school of art and life, both for the



participants themselves and for the viewers, which also include many young people. From this point of view as well, the current experiment cannot be said to have succeeded.

The current young people's exhibit in Kuznetskiy will doubtless become a landmark in the chronicle of Moscow artistic life, both for its successes, which unfortunately do not show up in the footlights because of their placement in secondary positions, and for its problems, which await thoughtful, serious critical reflection.

#### Creativity with 'Complications'

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by V. Yumatov: "Debut With Complications: Notes On the Creativity of Young Artists"]

[Text] The exhibits by young artists in Moscow have for 10 years now invariably been "an event." They have a special atmosphere of involvement with modern art, with precisely what is modern and "now." New names have constantly appeared, and we find the familiar names we already know well at a new stage each time.

But now they've gone on, one after another, just because of age, those former leaders whose works determined the creative level of the young people's exhibits, and the new generation is clearly late in coming. And something alarming has happened in the interim. The tone of the exhibits by young people has come to be set not by the highest creative result, but by what is average in all respects.

The diktat of "the average," hypnotic ordinariness, the inertia of familiar, mindless schemes, and the resultant drop in the creative potential of the pictorial art and its social significance -- all this has occurred, it must be said, both among young artists and, especially noticeably, in the Union of Artists. Unfortunately, this is forgotten when people begin censuring young artists. So now there is a proposal to disband the young-people's association attached to the Moscow Department of the Union of Artists (MOSKh). What is being said in this regard about the continuity of traditions and education in a friendly family of artists of different generations is true. But what about the actual situation? Judge for yourselves: of the 155 people in the MOSKh poster section, only two are under 35 (!); in the painting section of a recent all-union exhibit, the average age of the participants was 51. A certain group of names has been dropping out of the exhibits with startling consistency. Another kind of "tradition" has also arisen: many young painters are being admitted to the MOSKh only after appealing to higher authorities.

This was the atmosphere in which the 17th Exhibit of Young Moscow Artists opened and has been operating for the past three weeks. The city Komsomol committee organized it. The exhibit is experimental by nature. An open exhibit committee judged the works with the artists present. Numerous creative styles are represented equally in the displays. About 800 works by



600 artists have been displayed in a small area. Efforts have been made to explain the goals and methods of the experiment to the viewers, their opinions are being studied, and so on. The main thing that is new is the detailed concept of the exhibit (developed by art historians D. Dondurey, V. Meyland and Yu. Nikich). The point is to establish direct contact between the artist and the public, to break the usual viewing stereotypes.

Design has played a special role in this program. I. Lubennikov and A. Skokan have succeeded in creating a thoughtful spatial model for the exhibit, with elements of festival and play, of happy, unpretentious spectacle. But people are still coming to the exhibit for the works themselves.

And this is where the differences of opinion come in. Some find the exhibit interesting both in its form -- the displays -- and in what is being shown. In the opinion of others, it's "much ado about nothing." Still others find the display has "consumed" the works, and yet others find the exhibit "tendentious."

An exhibit imitating life.

This is the result: the familiar evaluation criteria seem unnatural, like a poetry reading injected into a talk between friends. And the reverse: what would look absurd and wild at our "official" exhibits is seen as natural here. For example, N. Ovchinnikov's "End of First Series" cartoon, with a handgun on the TV screen firing at someone jumping out the window, is just as elegantly clever as "The Eccentrics" on column 16 in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. A chime rings in the hall from time to time as someone brushes against a hanging construction of metal pipes ("Bi Ka Po," a mobile sculpture by G. Vinogradov).

Such things do not go beyond the bounds of propriety in any sense, nor are they even extravagant. They are quite accessible to even the most unsophisticated eyes. The fact that the level of artist pretentiousness here is lower is another matter. At certain pivotal moments in the development of art, it is precisely such "trifles," by themselves unproductive, that oddly turn out to be a necessary link, a condition for continued advancement. But the question becomes, "Kids, when is enough trifling enough?"

Of course, it does happen -- when art sometimes gets "weighted down" and overgrown with all sorts of sham circumstances, when "high style" becomes false, stilted and thus empty, when a gap arises between professional purpose and animated feeling -- it does happen that the artist seeks any opportunity to achieve a naturalness and immediacy of thought, feeling and expression. Thus, some artists from the 70's who have come around to large forms with a very strained civil and philosophical tone began by turning towards the "naive" art and folk literature for style. It's possible that we are seeing this type of process unfolding today.

The exhibit has many "naive" works at the very broadest range of levels. The sympathetic "primitives" of K. Sogomonyan. Several now-fashionable comics, advertisements and caricatures (M. Konnov. "New Path" and others). B. Mamonov's "Apple," painting simplified to a single, solitary object-image. And, finally, the gravitation towards "childlike drawing." Works by L.

Tabenkin, I. Ganikovskiy, T. Faydysh, Ye. Dybskiy, A. Maksimov and Z. Sherman fall more or less into this "childlike" category, although it's hard to say the extent to which this return to "the land of childhood" is programmed on the part of the artists.

There has been criticism during the exhibit that realistic works have been inadequately represented. I do not agree, even if realism is understood to be the oversimplification apparently intended. There are quite a few works whose origin must have been the natural world. True, one does not often encounter among them things which are creatively interesting, but there are some. For example, the genre compositions of Ye. Popova and M. Gurvich, in which one senses an effort to "seize" daily life, to show man close-up, or V. Rusanov's paintings, also essentially in a genre and, at the same time, a profound interpretation of the theme of man's interrelationships with nature.

However, one would like to see the realistic series moved beyond literal verisimilitude and speaking both to the moral persuasion of an artist riding the wave of the life around him. Were this the definition, it would include many works, such as those by A. Sundukov, A. Abdullayev, M. Kantor, V. Braynin and M. Daugaviyete, although, given the diversity of styles and given that we respect the artists' intentions, there is the constant feeling that they are too attracted to one thing to the detriment of the rest: they see one side of things, the trees rather than the forest, the minute at the expense of the century. The works lack the all-encompassing feeling, the fullness of perception, that provides a measure of the large and small in genuinely realistic works. But perhaps realism is still an "adult" phenomenon and should be grown into, rather than acquired on loan?

Strange as it may seem, artists both young and old have a strong allegiance to what has been done previously and a scepticism of what is new. Faith that "everything is possible" has been replaced by certainty that "everything has already been done." As is true of realism, one can speak only of partial or near-romantic moods in paintings, including those at the current exhibit. But there are exceptions, one of the most serious and poetical of which is Ye. Kornilova's "Garden," though it is somewhat spare and thus loses the most subtle and freest element, its vividness.

Thus, the 17th Young Moscow Artists' Exhibit is over. Behind its "playful" exterior was a content quite a bit more profound and dramatic. At the same time, it forced one to think about important things, first and foremost the very existence of the MOSKh young people's association. The thought naturally occurs: Was it worth it to sharpen the corners? Wouldn't the reverse have been better, to try to round them off? After all, as we know, water doesn't flow under a flat rock. The experiment has essentially just begun, and its results can be judged only by consequences in the distant future, by how and whether our pictorial art responds to the creative impetus which the experiment has given it. The artist needs to believe that this is not a one-time measure. There will be other experiments like this, and still others unlike it, which will create a high "pitch" in artistic life.

The association of young artists is a creative organization with almost no peers, a smooth-running form of artistic growth and one with good traditions.

But even if one assumes that it has not justified itself, why junk the concept so quickly, without broad, business-like discussion? Why are the cinematographers, who are apparently also not entirely satisfied with the "Debut" association, now moving in directly the opposite direction, that is, to strengthen that association? At the same time, one real disaster for our young artists is the fact that the "passive voice" figures in every reference to them: they "are discussed," they "are developed," an exhibit is or is not put on "for them," their association is "to be abolished".... The artists do need to be helped, to be sure, but by opening the door for them, by commenting on everything better, more widely and more exactly, but without prejudging their creative results. We need to listen closely to the voices of the young. They are the hope of art.

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## SOCIAL ISSUES

PRAVDA: 'DEMOCRATIZATION IS NOT A SIMPLE PROCESS'

PM201637 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Studying Democracy. Party Committees Under Conditions of Openness"]

[Text] Reports of this kind are increasingly frequently encountered in news roundups nowadays.

...At the Yelgava "RAF" Plant, following an all-union competition, a new director has been elected by open ballot from among the winners.

...Two candidacies were put forward for the post of party raykom first secretary in Kemerovo Oblast's Izhmorskiy Rayon. A raykom plenum made its choice by secret ballot.

...So-called "telegatherings" involving thousands of people are firmly entering the practice of Georgian television. They assume the nature of popular referendums on the most urgent problems of concern to the population. The suggestions, criticisms, and recommendations made there become the basis for adopting important decisions at republic level.

Behind such facts, and there are more and more of them in our life, can be seen one of the most important signs of the times, of the restructuring begun by the party -- the broadening and further development of democratic principles. The foundations laid by V.I. Lenin and the principles of people's power of the soviets as the most democratic of sociopolitical systems are, as it were, finding their original essence and resolutely ridding themselves of all kinds of later bureaucratic and voluntaristic accretions and excrescences. The lessons of truth and of direct and open Bolshevik analysis of the acutest problems taught by the 27th CPSU Congress are penetrating increasingly deeply into the everyday practice of party committees, soviets, trade unions, and the Komsomol and are increasingly determining the moral atmosphere of our social life.

The CPSU Central Committee January Plenum has given a powerful new boost to the democratization process and the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society. Openness, criticism, self-criticism, and monitoring by the masses are becoming the norm for our way of life and reliable guarantees of success in the great cause of accelerating the country's socioeconomic and spiritual development.



At the same time, experience shows that the democratization process is far from simple. It demands — not just at some time but right now — the irrevocable abandonment of many old approaches, of the habits of bureaucratic administration and issuing orders, of ignoring acute topics, and of overcautiousness. Some workers find it hard to understand that democracy is not just a slogan but the essence of restructuring. But there is no other way, and it is necessary to travel this path more boldly and change our views and habits in order not to end up outside the mainstream of life.

As in any serious matter, Communists and party committees and bureaus must, above all, set an example in asserting everywhere the principles of publicity, openness, and veracity. They must act at all levels as organs of political leadership, as generators and vectors of new ideas, working in the midst of the masses, expressing their interests in policies, combining collectivism in formulating decisions with monitoring and personal responsibility for a specific task, and asserting the spirit of criticism and self-criticism aimed at rectifying shortcomings and omissions. A party committee and a leader can only count on success under modern conditions if they rely in their work not on paper directives worked out in offices but on the initiative of the masses and the creative potential of people who have become aware that they are the country's true masters.

Reports from the provinces indicate that there are still many workers, including party workers, who look warily on the democratization process. While verbally proclaiming loyalty to restructuring, they in fact shun the least manifestations of criticism and sometimes victimize people for it. There are, alas, enough examples of such "restructuring" in the pages of our press. By what are such workers guided? Some of them see criticism and openness as an encroachment on their prestige, as "undermining personal authority." Others fear some sort of "slur": A shadow will be cast over the oblast, rayon, city, or collective, they say. Yet others, while verbally acknowledging criticism, do nothing practical to eliminate the shortcomings noted. Clearly, all this has nothing in common with party-mindedness or genuine concern for our common cause.

Lenin despised "all falsehood" in a position. The party considered and still considers the ability to "criticize oneself openly and plainly call a mistake and a weakness a mistake and a weakness," openness, exactingness, and democratism not a sign of weakness but a sign of strength. This is a natural state in the struggle of the new against the old, a natural process in the life of a person, organization, or collective which have not stopped in their development and do not vegetate but grow, improve, and advance. Conversely, as practice shows, an atmosphere of outward smoothness, breezy showiness, and overregimentation is frequently an alarm signal and attests to a kind of necrosis of the social organism, to a stoppage of growth.

An appeal to learn to work under conditions of developing democracy was heard with new force at the January plenum of the party's Central committee.

An appeal to learn to work under conditions of developing democracy was heard with new force at the January plenum of the party's Central Committee. That means it is necessary to create in every labor collective, in every party and public organization, in central and local departments and establishments preconditions which will enable a person to feel in full measure the unity of rights and obligations, to display his civic stance, and to feel himself the master. It means strictly observing the principles of accountability and control at all levels and on no account permitting the emergence of zones closed to criticism or of "untouchable" people. It means strictly observing the principles of accountability and control at all levels and on no account permitting the emergence of zones closed to criticism or of "untouchable" people. It means not fearing the destruction of long established, customary stereotypes which do not meet the demands of the times, not imposing your own will on people or on a collective who have formed a different opinion on any question, and, if this is closer to the truth and preferable for the cause, openly and honestly admitting your own mistake.

Of course, the concept of democracy embraces not only rights but also obligations, enhanced responsibility, and conscious discipline. Wider openness certainly does not mean freedom of action for demagogues and slanderers. On the contrary, open discussion of problems of concern to people directly serves the cause of improving the social climate and puts an end to all kinds of fabrications and rumors. It is the duty of party organizations and the mass news and propaganda media to make bolder use of the atmosphere of openness and democratism to widely involve the masses in the restructuring process and to support living shoots of new experience and genuine devotees of restructuring who spare no effort in the struggle for acceleration. And, at the same time, to further rally their own ranks and purge them of careerists and windbags, of those whose convictions, to use Lenin's words, "go no deeper than the tip of their tongue."

Great schemes and plans give rise to great energy when they become the property of the people and enter the flesh and blood of millions. Restructuring presupposes the all possible development of the initiative, independence, and militancy of labor collectives and of all our cadres and tremendous work on accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The democratization process is an inalienable factor for success on the way to this goal.

/12624

CSO: 1800/406

## SOCIAL ISSUES

### 'OVERCENTRALIZATION' SEEN AS CAUSE OF CORRUPTION

Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 11 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by Siim Kallas]

[Excerpts] Let us assume that two acquaintances meet, who have not seen each other for already several years. Let us assume that one deals with people who have always had an interest in the problems of economy and who are also sufficiently familiar with them.

Let us assume now that these two acquaintances will now start discussing the pros and cons of the economic renewal. Let us see what the outcome will be.

B: The combat against drunkenness and alcoholism is without doubt the right direction in principle and it must be given support although I have doubts about a lot which has been undertaken. However, I consider the laws for combating the non-labor incomes as a completely regressive step.

A: Why is that?

B: The most essential [thing] is that these measures ignore the laws of economy, economic processes and are therefore a vivid example of voluntarism and the subjective approach to economic problems.

A: What gives you the ground to claim that?

B: Let us take motor transport. Nobody would recruit those who do transport jobs on the if there was a decent transport service organized. The need to transport construction materials, agricultural produce and the like is really objective and if there are no normal opportunities for satisfying it, then naturally, dubious paths will be taken. It is the same story with the use of machinery, construction jobs and many other services which are officially unsolved. It is also the same story with speculation. Let us remain Marxists and acknowledge that speculation exists not because of the existence of bad men, the speculators. Speculation is possible because a shortage of decent goods and services exists. Marx said that where a shortage of goods occurs, there will always be somebody to profit from it. The troubles of the economy are no match for the militia.

A: But you must still acknowledge that in our society bribe-taking is also still very widespread; this has been demonstrated by several major court cases in Moscow and elsewhere. Against those one had to resort to something decisive.

B: Bribery is one of the most dangerous things in society and of course one has to fight against it. But do not overlook the soil which feeds it - that is, first of all, overcentralized management, the excessive power of the central administrative apparatus and the bureaucracy. These roots for bribery must be cut off and then one can ultimately eliminate this phenomenon from our society.

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CSO: 1815/21



## SOCIAL ISSUES

### UZBEK DEPUTY PREMIER ON CHILD MORTALITY, FAMILY PLANNING

PM051026 [Editorial report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian in the 28 February 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 2 under the rubric "News Panorama: Economy, Services, Culture" a 700-word interview with S.U. Sultanova, deputy chairman of the Uzbek SER Council of Ministers, by correspondent G. Dimov in Tashkent, headed "Large Families Through the Doctors' Eyes," datelined Tashkent. The interview, devoted to aspects of the republic's health program, deals with doctors' training and the provision of new clinical facilities, and concludes with the following passage:

[Dinov] The public is worried about the high child mortality in the republic.

[Sultanova] This is the main sore point of the Health Program. Home visits to pregnant women and the work of children's intensive care services are not yet running smoothly, and there are many disorders in the work of maternity homes. These have been revealed, in particular, by the people's controllers, and an Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee decision was adopted at the end of last year on the basis of their materials.

"But we must also look at the problem from another angle. The frequent losses of neonates in our region are not only due to the insufficiently high standard of maternity services and care of neonates. Anemia is widespread among mothers, and therefore in many neonates, and this in turn is a direct consequence of frequent pregnancies. Unfortunately we have not yet overcome the established Eastern attitude toward woman as the active continuer of the race, which restricts her social position and limits her opportunities to raise healthy children in the spirit of present-day requirements."

"Six out of every 10 rubles allocated to health care in Uzbekistan are channeled into the development of maternity and pediatric services. All the same, for the sake of the mothers' health and in order to reduce child mortality in zones like Central Asia where the birth rate is high, it is necessary to adopt family planning."

"The state gives material support to large families and moral encouragement to mothers of many children. But we in Central Asia are becoming less moved by

the fact that every family is a large one--today you have to take into account not only the number, but the health of each child. The time has probably come for us to think together about where to encourage large families and where to introduce family planning--these questions should become the prerogative and sovereign right of the union republics."

/12913

CSO: 1830/335

## REGIONAL ISSUES

### LIPETSK OBKOM CHIEF ON NEED FOR BETTER CADRES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Yu. Manayenkov, first secretary of the Lipetsk Obkom of the CPSU, under the "Party Life, Soviets" rubric: "Obligation: The Maturity of Cadres Is Verified by Concrete Deed"]

On the eve of the October festivities, the oblast multi-profile hospital, an enormous health complex, opened its doors in Lipetsk. The first and for the time being the only such complex. You understand, there was much joy, and congratulations and applause were heard. But I do not hide that there remained also a feeling of bitter dissatisfaction. As if a shadow on clear day--neither the flashes of photographic portraits nor the cheerful speeches brightened it.

How did it happen that this celebration was delayed for almost 15 years? For almost that long the hospital was built. And this with a standard period of four and a half years! Why then were ever new deadlines again postponed, again broken? Why, finally, did the Lipetsk builders, who have an exceptionally high feeling of work quality, why did they not perceive the expenditure of their prestige here, and why were they not filled with indignation? You see, they had to be simply obligated after all! They had shown that they know how to work, when we, correcting mistakes of long standing, targeted them at the unconditionally obligatory present deadline for the commissioning of the hospital.

. . . The deeper the process of restructuring goes, the more visibly it opens (our) eyes to what has become familiar, what has become obsolete, what we must decisively get rid of. In the history of the "long-term construction of the hospital", like in a mirror, the ingrained ailment of irresponsibility, to which we had already become accustomed, was reflected. It was known to all: It is impossible to begin a construction project without technical documentation. They started it. Then the customer did not provide financing for the project. Then they withdrew the builders to other projects: They say, to work here is for the time being optional. . . . Do you sense? Two responsibilities settled, as it were, at the construction site: One official--for the builders, the other secret--for those who directed them. And they "froze" the construction project. . . .

What is such obligatoriness? It has many definitions. Among the constant ones are strictness, faithfulness, conscientiousness, diligence, and self-discipline.

But deprive these qualities of conscious maturity--and here already negligence, lack of discipline, irresponsibility, and corruption swell up like in a pool. Everything that we come to know before the April changes and what up to the present we have been shaking off from our feet.

And now I recall how the first sessions of the present composition of the obkom buro went. Imagine, there appears before you, with a report or explanation of his unfinished work, a solid and respected comrade, he nods assent to all claims and understandingly assures: "It will be done." And he left, and all assurances were forgotten by him, and the undertaking rolls along in the well-worn rut. One such, another, a third. . . . And then there was no fourth. Because the buro accumulated experience, and the "fourth" already knew: For thoughtless words one has to answer. Although I will not oversimplify--the fear to assume responsibility has remained with some people.

Not long ago, the oblast newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA disclosed how in Izmalkovskiy Rayon several houses were taken into operation in which it was simply impossible to live because of serious imperfections. Surely, who but the chief architect of the rayon, V. D. Petrov, knew perfectly well: To accept them was impossible. And he accepted them. Why? In reply he advanced the reason--they pressured "from above". However, as it turned out, nobody "pressured". He signed the documents in order not to offend anyone. Here you start to think: For what reason does he have the reputation of an effective and principled person among the leaders of the rayon?

Precisely in this lies the danger of non-obligatoriness, that you do not immediately assess it. The destruction of discipline, drunkenness, the misuse of official position, and unearned incomes we have learned to recognize, and although to date we have only removed the "tops" in the struggle against them, we already have a certain experience, methods, and criteria. The "roots" of sham promises are deeper.

Most likely, we have noticed: In the progressive collective there are more efficient and responsible people than in the collective that is lagging behind. Do they specially select them? By no means. It is simply that, in the case of a good manager, trust in people, control and accounting, figuratively speaking, live hand in hand. As V. I. Lenin taught. I was told that in the Rosniya Sovkhoz of Gryazinskiy Rayon, where Hero of Socialist Labor N. T. Vladimirov is the director, one of the best dairymaids left: She had found work that was a little easier. And suddenly, . . . she came back: "I cannot work there: They do not notice successes, nor idleness. Better demand and order." In other words, lack of discipline is as an outsider to an honest person. This is extremely important to take into account when you turn to the reserves of the individual, to the human factor. But why hide, do we not often have the occasion to hear at a party meeting that the party organization and the leader, not to even say anything about rank and file communists, would turn to such Leninist requirements as control and accounting and the check on fulfillment? At the congress, the conference or the plenum--this is another matter. Well, already in the examination at the VUZ. . . .

Why is this so? Indeed, restructuring is not only the renunciation of the old, renewal and alteration of the obsolete, but also the return to



concepts of their primary and original meaning. Responsibility is personal, said V. I. Lenin, and among the most important he advanced the task: To attain real personal responsibility. Proceeding from this, we are organizing our work with cadres.

Not long ago I noticed: The pelmeni [Siberian meat dumplings] were disappearing from the counters of Lipetsk stores. What is the matter? It turns out that the pelmeni shop is closed: The old equipment was worn out, and no one had concerned himself with new equipment. Why? They began to look into it, they counted about a dozen "responsible [workers]"--from the chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee to the brigade leader! So to speak, a whole chain of obligations, and not a single obligatoriness. We intervened, of course, and the matter will be corrected. But why in this way, on the initiative "from above", and not independently. In arousing independence and initiative in people, especially at first, control must be more strictly realized, I would even say supervision.

One must start with oneself. You see, it is no secret: In the obkom something slipped, in the raykom something did not snap into action--and the task did not get to the executor. The entire mechanism spun idle! That is why there is paper to spare where there is room for the deed. And also because the orally transmitted word has fallen into decay and has lost in value: Where you would obtain a reliable positive statement or agreement, multi-volume collections of paper distrust are produced. We must return to the word its original value, first of all to the word of the communist and leader. Whether he occupies a high or somewhat lesser chair, he assumes a special duty: The fate of people, the collectives, and the entire undertaking depends on his responsibility.

Beginning with the summer, we manifested uneasiness about the future winter preparation and discussed it with all executives and extended assistance to them. Among others they also asked N. G. Zagorskiy, the director of the Lipetsk Tractor Plant: "Are you able to prepare the factory and the settlement yourself or are there questions?" "There are no questions," Nikolay Grigoryevich declared with assurance. He is a man of authority, they believed him. But the October coolness had hardly begun, when complaints rained down from the tractor builders: It is cold. We had to send out two trusts and tie up all the builders of the city, who for 2 days and nights fought for heat. The people of Lipetsk remember how during the summer the deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, A. S. Gubanov, gave an interview in the Vremya program. "The residents of the city," he assured everyone, "will be completely supplied with vegetables." "You guarantee this," he was asked. "Yes, I guarantee it!"

Fall came, and those who received the "guarantee" lined up in a queue for cabbage. And although the shortages lasted only for a day and a half, this did not remain without attention. Who was to blame? At a session of the CPSU Obkom Buro, we put this question to A. S. Gubanov. In his opinion, all those were to blame who were involved in the procurement of vegetables, with the exception. . . of the deputy chairman of the oblispolkom personally. What is this? An attempt to lay the responsibility on others? To escape from punishment? The Buro subjected such "high-rank" non-obligatoriness to uncompromising party account.

In general, it has been noticed: There is a type of leader who, having taken the leader's chair, swiftly masters his rights. But literally years are required in order for him to master his duties. This also happens with entire collectives, where dependence, support on rights and privileges replace the feeling of the manager: "If it is for me--I am the boss, if it is from me, I will not move a finger." Such a psychology exactly is "cultivated" by careless managers.

This is why, in reorganizing the work of the party committees at present, we demand the promotion not simply of fresh people, but people with unusual and audacious thinking, capable of acting in an innovative manner in new conditions, who without prompting assume burden and responsibility. We are giving broad publicity through the press to the rise and fall of cadres. We are actively practicing certification, discussion, and public reports about the fulfillment of official and public duties, as well as individual control over the fulfillment of prescribed norms. Objective characterizations have been approved for 1,540 party members, from which it is evident, who, so to speak, is worth what.

Obsolete habits, methods, and traditions are gradually falling out of practice. This, without a doubt, is good. What is bad is something else. Not all stop to think what precisely is being acquired in exchange.

Not so long ago, the obkom buro issued a severe reprimand to the first secretary of the Stanovlyanskiy Party Raykom, V. P. Repkin. An economically progressive rayon, and the secretary is an energetic and competent man, in many respects he deserves credit for the fact that the farms and fields here are adding to productivity. But, evidently, he did not notice how the economic fence began to cut him off from political and ideological work: He pulled up the economy, but he is losing people--eight supervisory workers of the rayon during the year were called to account or were close to the border beyond which criminal responsibility begins. And it is small comfort that Viktor Pavlovich himself is an honest person. If he would guide economic affairs as a political worker--with people and through people, his economic findings would gain three times in value and social significance.

. . . The past summer happened to be drought-afflicted, the grain harvest we gathered was not greater than that of our neighbors. But the procurement plan was fulfilled. I emphasize: Not without difficulties for the fodder reserves of the farms. This provided an impetus to seriously take up fodder production. Through the expansion of sowings and the increase of the harvest of rape and corn on the basis of grain technology and repeated sowings it proved possible to lay in 18.8 quintals of fodder units per conventional head of cattle. In other words, the grain forage is smaller than during the past year, but as a whole the fodder potential is greater, and, what is most important, the productivity of cattle is higher. The oblast already in November fulfilled the state plan for the procurement of all types of livestock production. I am thinking as follows: Had we left grain for fodder, as previously, it would not be better. And they would have unnerved people--and would have taught the next lesson of non-obligatoriness.

Yes, for the time being there are plenty of such "lessons" of non-obligatoriness. And people remember them very well--not to our advantage. Here is a clear case.

However, at times conditions arise in which to fulfill the obligations on the basis of honor and conscience is. . . disadvantageous. Examples? Yes, here is even if only one such example.

Among the plants of the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry of the Tsentrallit [not further identified] type, not a single one has reached design capacities. Not a single one, except the Lipetsk Plant, which even exceeded them somewhat. It would seem, no matter where to search for reserves in the first place, only not here. In an extreme case, in the second. But. . . they are searching. What is more, they are planning the highest production growth rates, moreover on the condition of the output of production not on the products list for 1.5 million rubles. In other words, they are betting on rails that are leading to a dead end. Do such approaches not raise pompous chatterboxes, among whom nothing in word is kept, except they themselves.

Non-obligatory obligations. Schemes of assurances and promises instead of the living deed and interested rivalry in competition. All of this struggles hard with our slogans and appeals and is turned around by the apathy of the mass to the fruit of its labor. We have conducted sample sociological research: A third of the participants in competition do not know who is ahead and who is lagging behind. And every third believes that obligations are accepted formally. For this reason, now, having encountered the year 1987, the obkom, the gorakoms, raykoms, and party committees are searching for ways of renewing the forms and methods of competition, to raise the role of political and economic studies, are trying to make the Soviets and trade unions more active, and are organizing the managers and labor collectives in such work so that words and plans are not divorced from the deed. So that our entire life is firmly supported by the indeed golden reserve of obligatoriness.

From a Letter to the Obkom

Before turning to you, I wrote more than three dozen letters to various directive organs. And from every quarter came formal replies to the effect that the facts are not confirmed. But facts were, as they say, present. In our city, M. Guznayeva, member of the party and secretary of the Usman Gorispolkom, enjoying the protection of the rayon leaders, broke the law. The facts of her unworthy conduct were fully confirmed during a careful examination conducted by V. Kiselev, the chairman of the Party Control Commission under the CPSU obkom. And here is the result of real adherence to principles--for an irresponsible and formal-bureaucratic attitude toward the verification of letters from workers and the presentation of unauthentic information to higher organs, as well as the failure to adopt measures to stop the illegal actions of the secretary of the gorispolkom, the former chairmen: of the rayispolkom--A. Timofeyev, the gorispolkom--N. Shevyakov, and the chairman of the party commission under the party raykom--I. Zhuravlev, were given severe reprimands, with entry into the reprimand cards. All of them were dismissed from the posts they occupied. The former first secretary of the raykom, V. Roslyakov, and the rayon procurator, I. Konovalov received severe party penalties, and M. Guznayeva herself, for abuse of official position, was excluded from the party.

It is good that you believed me, an ordinary communist, and not the dozens of "official documents."

S. Varavin,  
participant in the Great Patriotic  
War and second-group invalid.

From a Letter to the Obkom

I am working as a charwoman in the Zadonskiy Rayispolkom. I live with my sick son in an old, shed-like apartment and dilapidated house. Already when my husband, a participant in the Great Patriotic War, was alive, they promised to improve our housing conditions. We were first in line. But when my husband died, they apparently forgot about us completely. Where all did I not write! The previous chairman of the rayispolkom, A. Zolotukhin, even got angry at me for this and more than once drove me to tears. N. Kobzeva, the former chairman of the gorispolkom, also did not want to talk with me. Then both of them were removed from their work because of improper affairs.

Now new people have arrived. In November I was received by the chairman of the rayispolkom, P. Yaitskiy. He promised to resettle us in a new apartment by the New Year. The New Year festivities have passed, and we are living as before in the old place. True, in the first quarter they promise to deliver a new 27-apartment house and to give us a 2-room apartment in it. I am afraid, as it were, that these promises will again remain empty words.

A. Lykova

8970

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### UDMURT OBKOM CHIEF STRESSES NEED FOR INITIATIVE, EFFECTIVENESS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN No 24, Dec 86 (signed to press 10 Dec 86) in Russian pp 23-28

[Article by P. Grishchenko, first secretary of the Udmurt Obkom of the CPSU: "Develop Initiative and Effectiveness, Fight Against Inertia and Parasitic Smugness"]

[Text] The first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan is coming to an end. The communists and the workers of the Udmurt ASSR, as well as of the entire country, are summing up its results, are bringing to light and are placing into the service of production, internal reserves for the acceleration of economic development, the cardinal renewal of production and technology, and the securing of high-quality production output. The obkom, the gorkoms and raykoms of the party and the primary party organizations of the republic are carefully analyzing the course of the reorganization in the labor collectives at all levels of management and administration and are determining the tasks with respect to the steady build-up of the rates of development in the decisive sphere of human activity--the economy, to see to it that things are changed for the better in every sector, that people feel confident and that they act energetically and creatively.

These are not simple tasks. Their realization is possible on the condition of continuous study with life and the constant comprehension of its experience and lessons. Statistics, in the language of passionless figures, indicate: Positive trends were noted in the development of sectors of the national economy. The positive advances in the economy, although not in all sectors and not everywhere to an identical degree, are gathering force. However, let us say it directly, qualitative changes have not taken place up to now. About this we will have to talk, among other things, because the production and scientific potential of the republic makes it possible to achieve more. Thus, according to preliminary data, 78 industrial enterprises are not fulfilling the plans for the delivery of production for a total sum of 36 million rubles. In 7 of 25 rayons in the republic the output of industrial production will be reduced by comparison with the past year, and in 5 rayons there will be a decrease in labor productivity.

There are still many shortcomings in the work of builders. Contract organizations, having increased the volumes of major work by comparison with the past

year, are not guaranteeing the smooth introduction of production capacities and projects. Some labor collectives have, and do not use, large reserves for qualitative changes in work, others--true, there are few of them-- have come to a stop in their development and are surrendering previously achieved positions.

The CPSU Obkom, proceeding from the directives of the 27th Party Congress and the June (1986) Central Committee Plenum, first of all, critically examined its activity and the activity of the party gorkoms and raykoms, and their influence on the work of the labor collectives. Some 360 party organizations became the subject of study. Specially created commissions and groups of party activists, in accordance with programs drawn up beforehand, conducted necessary research with the goal of revealing to what extent the level of party work corresponds to the spirit of the time.

The secretaries and members of the party obkom, the gorkoms and raykoms of the party, conducted hundreds of meetings with secretaries of the party organizations, the workers of the Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, and the executives of the ministries and departments, enterprises and associations of practically all sectors of the national economy of the republic. In discussions and meetings, key problems of management and administration were touched on, and, the main thing, practical work was analyzed, how party committees and primary organizations, with the forms and methods characteristic of them, are solving the questions of the transition of production to the rails of intensification and the increase of efficiency. The discussion boiled down to what must be done in order to raise the activeness of the workers.

The analysis carried out by the party obkom clearly convinced that the reorganization has not yet touched many labor collectives and party organizations, not to mention trade union and Komsomol organizations. Also encountered were such phenomena, where the executives talk about restructuring too much and too happily, but do not do anything for its practical realization and work in the old way. It was brought to light that, as a rule, party work in such collectives is at a low level. In so doing, in the party organizations, as it were, the external attributes of energetic activity are observed: Meetings and sessions of the party committees and bureaus are held, at which questions connected with the improvement of things in production are submitted. In general, on the outside everything, as it were, is successful.

In actual fact, the surveys of the workers and the sociological research conducted by the party obkom showed that a radical change in production and in the social sphere is hindered by conservatism, inertia of thinking, and complacency. Moreover, many executives did not become used to working independently, they wait for instructions from above and are afraid to show initiative. All of this, to a considerable extent, also applies to party committees and primary organizations. At the same time, as before, they take upon themselves the decision of many questions, replacing the Soviet, trade union and economic organs. There is also another extreme, where workers of the apparatus of the party committees take the view that they have already reorganized and lecture to party activists and economic personnel. Some of them are carried away by various sorts of measures that have an ostentatious character.

The party obkom began restructuring from the standpoint of its own activity, and raising its own success-rate. First of all, they set themselves the task: To remove the obstacles in the path of economically literate management, to join the practical line with real life, and to renew the forms and methods of party work. The point is the increase of the quality of party work, the change of the party committees and the primary organizations to people and to the living cause.

The most important prerequisite for the healthy life of every party organization is the creation of an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism and the consistent carrying through of the principle of the collectivity of leadership. Only the strict observance of these principles can guard against subjectivist eccentricities and exclude the adoption of insufficiently considered and unfounded decisions.

Until recently, in many party committees and in the obkom itself, the collectivity of leadership consisted merely in the joint discussion and adoption of decrees. The preparation and critical study of the documents were conducted by the forces of the apparatus. Of course, in this case, the great forces, experience, and collective reason of the elected aktiv were practically not used. Hence the quality of the decisions being taken suffered. And they were frequently not carried out.

We may as well confess, even in the obkom a style of work struck root where the workers of the apparatus were basically preoccupied with operational matters and with the adoption of measures in a helter-skelter manner, connected with the bridging of the gaps arising every time in economic construction. It turned out: While they pulled out one sector, they neglected a second and third. The numerous decisions being taken abounded with the establishment of shortcomings and contained few constructive recommendations for overcoming them.

The obkom had to go after a change of this practice. Thus, for the preparation of the plenum, at which the question of the further development of agriculture and the agroindustrial complex were examined, they involved the members of the obkom and the secretaries of the raykoms, the people in charge of agriculture, the workers of the party, Soviet and trade union organs, and scientists, on a broad scale. This made it possible to consider more fully the reserves for increasing the success rate of party work.

The party organizations and the labor collectives are striving to work with a perspective, with a glance to the future. At the suggestion of the obkom, the oblast party organization and the labor collectives developed goal-oriented integrated programs for the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress, the intensification of production, the expansion of road construction, the increase of the culture of labor and everyday life, the improvement of work with management personnel, the fortification of the health of the workers, and the improvement of the supply of the population with food products and consumer goods. Each one of these documents envisages a system of measures guaranteeing the acceleration of the development of one or another production and social sphere of activity. The goal-oriented method of planning makes it possible to overcome departmentalism in the solution of territorial and

sector problems and to concentrate the means and efforts of the party organizations on the key directions of the reorganization and the acceleration of development.

The greater part of the population is now being involved in the development of the most important decisions of long-term significance through the republic press. The formation of public opinion and support on it are becoming one of the integral requirements of the work of the oblast party organization.

Meetings in the labor collectives give a great deal to party workers. They give rise to new thoughts and valuable suggestions, they compel people to work more energetically. It is our aspiration that every discussion be open and honest, even if the discussion turns out to be unpleasant for the committee. And people are becoming convinced that they came to them, not with the next "dressing-down", but to seek advice, to work out some kind of a solution together, and to elicit their opinion. And they willingly enter into open discussion. In the preparation of such meetings, we find out beforehand what is troubling people. Moreover, we do not fail to give attention to a single question that was raised.

In our conditions, meetings of the party committee workers with workers have proved themselves well. Here is the way they recently organized this measure in Sarapul. During 10 days, the secretaries, members of the party obkom, the responsible officials of its departments, as well as of the ministries and departments of the republic, were literally in all labor collectives and primary party organizations. They familiarized themselves with the practice of the work of the enterprises and party organizations and brought to light the pluses and minuses in their activity. Then a meeting with the party apparatus and the leadership of the city organizations was held in the party gorkom. After an open exchange of opinions, where quite a few pretensions were made against the obkom officials, they developed joint recommendations for implementing the proposals of the workers.

In what lies the sense of such meetings? In the fact that they make possible the fuller exposure of the state of affairs, are conducive to the extension of more effective assistance at the local level, and orient the executives, the party committees, and the secretaries of the primary party organizations, toward the solution of the first and foremost tasks which the party obkom includes in the general program of actions.

The guiding line for work in the party organizations and labor collectives sharply increased the problem of the shortage of time of the party workers. The party committees had to take up in earnest the organization of the labor of workers. Many gorkoms and raykoms of the party have recently adopted so-called regulations of the work of party committees. In them are stipulated concrete measures in regard to the planning to work, the control over the implementation of decisions being taken, and the work with letters from workers. Days for the conduct of conferences, seminars, and party studies are also established. The procedure for the execution of audits and the study of the activity of city, rayon, and primary party organizations is coordinated. Other questions, which are mainly connected with the management of documents, are also reflected. Of course, the question concerning the excessive regulation



of the activity of the party worker may arise. In our view, these documents have directed the work of the apparatus of the party committees into the right channel and have helped them to coordinate their activity with the work of the Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs.

The party obkom is constantly warning the party committees against their attempts to interfere directly in economic matters. We are trying not to fetter the initiative and independence of the economic managers. If it is necessary to correct the work somewhere, act through the party organization, help to arrange people in a way so that they themselves solve the problems that arise.

In all large and small matters, the party committees strive to base themselves on initiative and progressive experience, which today is becoming an indisputable rule of work. At the present time, plans are not approved if they do not envisage the dissemination of experience. This, it seemed, simple measure produces quite good results.

Here is a concrete example from the activity of the Dormoststroy [Republic Trust of Road and Bridge Construction]. The party organization conducted a great deal of explanatory work among the workers, which guaranteed the understanding by every worker of the purpose and meaning of the acceleration of the construction rates. During its active participation in the brigades and in the sectors, they attentively studied not only the experience of the work on a collective contract of the Trust No 18 situated near Moscow, but also introduced it on a broad scale into production. The contract and cost accounting made it possible to strengthen labor, state and plan discipline, and to involve all workers in the management of production. As a result, a long-term plan was developed, which envisages, for the five-year-plan, the building of an additional 30 kilometers of modern highway, which will connect the rayon village of Vavozh with Ustinovo.

The undertaking of the builders is of considerable value: 12 rayon centers to date do not have a firm road connection with the republic center. This is precisely why the question of the installation of roads with asphalt concrete surface was raised especially sharply at the oblast report and election party conference, as one of the basic conditions for the acceleration of the development of agriculture and the agroindustrial complex and for the realization of the plans for the transformation of the Non-Chernozem Zone.

The experience of the party organization of the Republic Trust of Road and Bridge Construction was approved by the obkom, which decided to disseminate it broadly in the party organizations. The CPSU obkom charged the managers of the Udmurtavtdor [not further identified] republic road construction organization with the development of a goal-oriented road construction program. Such a document has been presented.

However, during its examination the aspiration of the workers to live through the next five-year plan quietly and without effort was discovered. The proposed program led away from the solution of an undoubtedly difficult task, namely: To link, by means of asphalt-concrete roads, during the current five-year plan, all rayon centers to the republic center, and to build gravel and crushed stone routes to the center farmsteads. It goes without saying, it

was impossible to agree with plans of that sort. Members of the party obkom and a broad aktiv joined in their revision. Large reserves were exposed, both among the builders and among the industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It was entirely realistic, it turned out, to increase the original tasks with respect to the work volume by one-third, and this already solves the problem posed. The undertaking was supported by the RSFSR Ministry of Highways.

The measures taken by the party committees in regard to the improvement of the management of the economy made it possible to raise the success rate of party work. However, we are far from the thought that everything has been solved. This is by far not so. Unfortunately, to date it is still not an uncommon occurrence where people are not informed about what tasks they will have to solve in the current five-year plan, year, month, and even the next day. For this reason, many party committees of the republic strive to reorganize their work in such a way as to reach every person and to help him bring into operation the reserves that exist in every workplace.

What is being done for this? In the party groups, the communists now, as a rule, once a year receive an assessment of their labor and socio-political activeness. In the brigades and the sections, questions of discipline and the quality of labor of the workers are also reviewed every day in the planning meetings.

The work of party groups and economic managers is carefully analyzed in the primary party organizations. It must be noted that such a system came into being, not in the calm of offices, but was taken directly from the practice of the Izhtal [Izhevsk Steel] Association.

It is impossible, most likely, not to talk about the selection of secretaries of the party organizations. Here the obkom has a sizable field of activity. A part of the secretaries still do not meet the requirements which the party makes of them. One of the reasons for this is the unprincipled position of the raykoms, which let themselves be led by the managers in the promotion of obedient and convenient secretaries of party organizations by them. As a result, the work suffers, and up to 60 secretaries have to be released from work every year.

Among the secretaries there are also those who simply occupy posts. For many years Araslanov was counted as secretary of the party committee of the Shafeyevskiy Sovkhoz. And more than once he attended various courses and seminars, but even then he did not learn political methods of work. And he also had not mastered farm practice. First quickly to the director, and then he wrote papers and reports to the raykom.

Let us tell the truth, such excuses for leaders are found in every rayon. Moreover, at times they display a condescending attitude toward him in the raykoms: "The kolkhoz secretary, they say." No, he is not a kolkhoz, but a party secretary. The post of secretary of a party organization is a responsible sector of political work. Thus, promising and authoritative communists must be selected to this post, so that they are sure to have had the experience of public work. This is how the party obkom poses the question.

The complex processes of reorganization presuppose a qualitatively new level of the solution of questions of the selection, placing, and training of personnel at all levels, the assessment of their political maturity, and the ability to conduct the work with acceleration. Let us acknowledge, many violations of the Leninist principles of the work with cadres are being permitted by the rural party raykoms. Thus, in the Kezskiy Rayon, for a long time they literally merely stated the facts of the violations of party norms on the part of the second secretary of the raykom, Ardashev. In the party obkom the comrades knew about this, but, don't you see, it was awkward for them to offend the man. As a result, things went to the point that Ardashev allowed himself to go to the platform of the meeting of the aktiv of the rayon party organization in the state of intoxication. He was punished and removed from work. Such a case inflicted damage also on the authority of the party organ.

The time that has elapsed after the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum clearly differentiated between executives at the local level. Theoretically one can single out three groups among them. To the first belong those who are acting independently and energetically and are confidently going forward. To the second--those who in general are coping with their obligations, but, as they say, are working circumspectly: "But am I not hurrying too fast?" And to the third--obvious dependants, who both worked and are working in the old way, not doing anything for the reorganization.

Hence the methods of influence which the party obkom applies in the work with management personnel: We aspire to make the experience of the first the achievement of all; the second we help to develop fully, to occupy an appropriate place in the solution of the tasks that are before the collectives, we simply compel them to work as they should. Against parasitic smugness we fight with all available means: With the force of public opinion, with party influence, and with administrative measures. In a word, in the labor collectives the kind of atmosphere is being created that the manager, who is not able to reorganize, himself understands this and yields his place to a more energetic and active worker.

On the whole, the majority of the management personnel meets the demands made of them by the party. The collectives of the Ustinovo Radio Plant (director: V. Shutov, secretary of the party committee: V. Samkov) and the Votkinsk Machine Building Plant (director: V. Sadovnikov, secretary: A. Palyanov) approach the utilization of the created production potential thoughtfully and wisely. Here they have attentively investigated the state of affairs in every shop, in every sector, and they have calculated what an increase in the workload of highly productive equipment and the transition to a two- and three-shift work regime will bring. After careful investigation it turned out that the necessity of the construction of new production buildings has passed, which will make it possible for the collectives to increase the construction of apartment houses and social, cultural and consumer projects.

But in the practice of work the examples are frequent where behind the external well-being there is concealed the psychology of the so-called "marginalists" [predelshchiki]. In essence this is conduct unbefitting a member of the party. Let us turn, let us say, to the practice of the Udmurtneft [Udmurt Petroleum]

Association. It carries out the plans and obligations. And nevertheless, restructuring is not evident here. The director of the association, V. Kudinov, reporting on its success, does not see anything special in the fact that the indicators are lower than those of the past year. The secretary of the party organization was also being led by the director. The party obkom buro came out rather sharply against such complacency and ordered the comrades to work out concrete measures guaranteeing the accelerated growth of oil production.

The problem of the growth and formation of executives is constantly at the center of attention of the party committees of the republic. Today many economic managers have gone through a good party hardening, having been secretaries of primary party organizations. This is how the Glazov Party Gorkom brings up cadres. Here the managers skillfully organize the labor of people and base themselves on public organizations, which has a positive effect on the development of the economy and the city economy.

During a crucial period of the reorganization, the oblast party organization moves into the foreground of personnel policy and party guidance of the economy the proposition that it will not be satisfied with the ability which the previous experience produced, but will certainly go farther, will certainly attain more, and will certainly make the transition from easier tasks to more difficult ones. The communists of the republic see their party duty in seeing to it that they persistently master the Leninist creative style of work and that they move out to new frontiers of the socio-economic development of the republic.

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### OPEN LETTER ON NEPOTISM, ABUSES IN OREL OBLAST RAYON

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Jan 87 p 2

[Open Letter by M. Yefremova, agronomist in Orel Oblast: "The Paths of Nepotism: Letter of a Communist Who Decided to Tell the Bitter Truth About the Rayon Executives"]

[Text] This is not the first year that I try through my letters to attract attention to my native rayon. Where all have I not written, and on what doors have I not knocked! Apropos what, you ask? It is more than I can stand to live in an atmosphere of untruth. We have many who are dissatisfied with what is happening in the rayon, who want to live and work honestly and conscientiously and take an active part in restructuring, if it ever starts in our rayon.

Who knows, perhaps my opinions seem too harsh to some, but I am deeply convinced: The whole issue lies in the party raykom, and above all in its first secretary, Ye. Mikhaylov. For more than 10 years he has been working in our rayon as first secretary, prior to that he was for as long a time in other executive rayon posts. Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, without exaggeration, is the "master" of the rayon, without him not a single personnel appointment or removal takes place. The overwhelming majority of rayon executives were personally selected by him, moreover on the basis of a sign of devotion, friendly relations, or kinship ties [rodstvennost]. . .

Let us assume someone among the appointees [dolzhantsy] wants to make a remark about how the raykomkhoz [city district department of municipal services] or the Administration of Communications are working in our rayon (and they are working poorly), and he turns directly to the first secretary of the raykom. There will be no principled decision. Yevgeniy Nikolayevich will not offend the managers of these organizations, Ye. Borodin and V. Borodina, relatives by marriage. His brother I. Mikhaylov and wife and his niece work in the rayispolkom in responsible positions. It is also useless to go to the raykom with a complaint, let us say, for lack of attention to the patient on the part of the managers of the rayon hospital. The head physician, V. Pavlov, is a friend of the former, and the ruling clique of the hospital includes the wife, sister, and niece of Ye. Mikhaylov. In his turn, the brother of the head physician V. Pavlov is a responsible official in the party raykom. More than a dozen and a half relatives of Yevgeniy Nikolayevich and his wife occupy posts in the rayon organs of power.

The other leaders of the rayon, too, try not to lag behind. Let us say, the secretary of the party raykom, R. Chebotkova, placed her own sister, G. Zhironkina, under her wing as an instructor, her first cousin, O. Galiguzova, is the deputy chairman of the rayispolkom. The brother-in-law [zyat] of Galiguzova is the chairman of the rayon committee of people's control.

True, the question may arise: But suppose they all, i. e., the relatives who are in power, are capable and talented people, and their leading position is really necessary in such a massive way and is justified by life? To speak the truth, we, the people of Dolgoye, do not notice any talents in them: Neither organizational, nor creative, nor moral talents. With the exception, perhaps, of one talent, which is brilliantly expressed: The ability to arrange their own personal affairs. To take, as it were, private residences which are like a thorn in one's flesh in Dolgoye. Whatever they are interested in is theirs for the taking.

The "self-service store" [sam] provided an example here. Next to it, in a private residence, lives the head physician, V. Pavlov. Side by side with Ye. Mikhaylov, his nephew, B. Makashov, the chief agronomist of the Iskra Kolkhos, built a house for himself. To put it more correctly, the department for municipal services [komkhos] erected the house for him. Naturally, the director of this organization did not forget about himself, as well as his son, the chief of the children's room in the rayon department for internal affairs. For him, too, they erected a house.

The brother of the "first" [secretary], I. Mikhaylov, erected mansions on the green outskirts of the settlement. There, there is a whole street of private residences for the "elect". Among them are the properties of the current leaders, as well as those who have failed--those who have gotten burnt and those who have compromised themselves. Like N. Makshov, N. Uvarov, L. Savelyeva, Yu. Gaykalov. . . . The chairman of the rayispolkom, V. Sokolov (for two) has a new house [domina] with dimensions larger than the editorial offices of the rayon newspaper. And they put in a townhouse for him which is the envy of everyone.

Do not misunderstand, we, it goes without saying, are not against high-quality and comfortable housing. Who would not like to have it? But somehow it turns out that, of the approximately 17 private residences that have sprung up in our settlement in the last 2 years, not a single one belongs to an ordinary man, but all to the leaders of the rayon and their entourage. For them, building materials in short supply, state builders, and free-lancers [shabashniki] are found. We already do not say anything about the other benefits which they extract, making use of their power and their official position. It is not difficult to imagine what sort of a psychology has developed in this milieu and how it influences the Dolgoye residents. Instead of adherence to party principles and the honor of the communist, other criteria and rules of living are valued in it. Relations are cultivated which divide people into "our people" and "strangers". To "ours"--posts, cushy jobs and material benefits, but the rest, they say, let them hold their tongue.

For many years they really did hold their tongue. They saw, they heard, and they knew, but they discussed things aloud only in their kitchens. Now there

is a different frame of mind. They are talking in the open. Of course, in the rayon center, where there are thousands of inhabitants, news is found out instantly. Was it worthwhile, for example, for the chairman of the rayispolkom, V. Sokolov, and the chairman of the Rayon Agroindustrial Association, A. Fomin, to write a document, addressed to the oblast procurator, defending and praising N. Uvarov, as many found out about in Dolgoye? Who is this Uvarov? Why are they defending him in spite of the facts discrediting him and in spite of the opinion of people?

In his time, he worked in one of the sovkhoses of our rayon, then he left for the neighboring Lipetsk Oblast. But having slipped up there, he returned to his native part of the world. They took him as an instructor in the party raykom (for what services?), and after a short period he was appointed manager of the Rayon Agricultural Equipment Association. It was precisely here that Uvarov developed. He began with the construction of private residences, naturally for himself and his retinue. From bad to worse, he began to enjoy it. Together with the chief engineer, A. Yesinilin, the deputy for economy, Ch. Putilina, and the chief accountant, L. Savelyeva, the new manager contrived for two years to report for himself sham work for many hundreds of thousands of rubles.

A documentary audit, conducted by the head of the subdivision of the oblast agroindustrial complex (agroprom), V. Konyalov, revealed that for the year 1985 alone the padding came to 357,000 rubles. Apart from the bonus for the fake, more than 2,000 rubles were paid to dummy workers. It is not known where a standard house with a value of about 3,000 rubles disappeared.

What was the final outcome? Having felt that the affair is not turning out to their advantage, A. Yesinilin and Ch. Putilina quickly left the Orsk area. And N. Uvarov, with a severe reprimand of the party . . . , occupied the chair of chief of the Agricultural Equipment Association; L. Savelyeva was changed over to the animal husbandry complex as chief accountant. And the oblast procuracy gave up on the nearly started criminal case.

Here is still another case from the same series. Literally the other day, a short investigation involving the case of a group of bribe-takers was concluded under the chairmanship of the rayon people's judge M. Borodina, who in the not too distant past was the second secretary of the party raykom. The essence, briefly, is as follows. In 1985, I. Lyutikov, the director of the Luganskoy Zavod, a candidate for membership in the raycom of the CPSU, with the assistance of his subordinates--the accountants I. Maslov and V. Maslov--bribed the head of the Studenovskiy Beet-Collecting Center, A. Pritomkin, and other inspectors, and these people, for a bribe of 5,187 rubles, credited the farm with 6,000 quintals of supposedly delivered beets. Through fraud the plan was "overfulfilled", for which Lyutikov received 974 rubles in bonuses, and the soyuz specialists--9,557 rubles. The entire settlement now is outrageous. Severe punishment, as in the case of bribe-takers and bribe-givers, w/c imposed, but with delayed execution for 2 years. A usual addendum, by the way, for our Dolgoye. For example, the chief engineer of the Road Repair and Construction Administration (DRSP), V. Rudkovskiy, took up a guard and ordered window glass in the office; he was very brave. As he was sentenced to 2 years deprivation of freedom with 2 years deferment and calmly continued to work in his previous post. . . .

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2 APRIL 1987

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### PAPERS REPORT GORBACHEV VISIT TO ESTONIA

#### PRAVDA on Estonian Visit

PM201209 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 87 First Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondents A. Chernyak, V. Shirokov, and G. Yastrebtsov: "Time Does Not Wait; M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in Tallinn"]

[Text] Tallinn--The CPSU Central Committee general secretary left Riga and arrived in Tallinn 19 February.

At the airport M.S. Gorbachev was met by K.G. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, A.F. Ryutel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, B.E. Saul, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and leaders of the republic's ministries and departments.

Estonia is considered to be one of the smallest republics, and from the geographical viewpoint that is correct. But its creative, economic, and social potential is great. The "Krengolmskaya manufaktura" brand, the deeds of the miners and processors of Kokhtla-yarve's oil shale and the creators of radio and electronic equipment from the "Pumane RET" plant, and the research of scientists from the ancient University of Tartu are widely known. The output of its plants and factories travels to all ends of the country--semiconductor instruments and transformers produced at the "Tallinskiy elektrotekhnicheskiy zavod imeni M.I. Kalinina" production association, air cooling apparatuses for gas pipelines from the Tallinn machine building plant named for I. Lauristin, electric motors from the "Volta" plant, and modern furniture from the "Standart" association. Estonian output is also well known on the world market--it is exported to 90 countries.

But the task of the day is to expand work considerably. There are still many unused reserves and bureaucratic impediments on the path to higher production efficiency. The restructuring which is now under way in the country is above all the resolute surmounting of stagnation processes, as the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum demanded, the breaking down of the delaying mechanism, and the creation of a reliable and effective

mechanism for the acceleration of society's socioeconomic development. Restructuring means reliance on the masses' living creativity and the all-around development of democracy and the working people's initiative.

This approach is close and understandable to working people. They wholly support and approve the party's policy. V. Liyv, leader of a team of turners at the "Talleks" production association and member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, said:

"Restructuring reminds me of a chisel which reaches the clean body of metal beneath the layer of oxide and rust. The metal of our society is strong, strong and reliable. Restructuring is removing the shavings of laziness, inertia, and social weariness from it. True, we should note that some people have displayed what is actually impatience: How can it be, they say, we are speaking of acceleration yet we are receiving few new machine tools, for instance. In such cases I reply: Changing such a huge country and effecting a breakthrough in the consciousness of every worker is after all no simple matter, time is needed, as the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said, 'to change gear, to tune the whole mechanism.' In turn, I asked these impatient people: But have you yourself made at least a small contribution? Have you been able to think up something new, to improve or ameliorate something at your workplace? Time does not wait. The main thing for each person is to define his personal position, his 'standpoint' in restructuring. Then things will get going."

One meeting with Tallinn's working people was held on Vladimir Ilich Lenin Boulevard. Also present were delegates to the 20th congress of the republic's Komsomol, which opens in Tallinn.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary displayed interest in the changes taking place in the republic's life. We need an open, frank talk, we hide nothing from each other, he said. Everyone must take part in our business and implement in full the potential of our democracy.

Our people will do everything possible, a young worker joined in the conversation, but we must rid ourselves more rapidly of the chameleons who have rapidly adapted to restructuring...

M.S. Gorbachev: Such people probably do exist. But you know, I would put it like this. We are nonetheless not going to bring in people from somewhere for restructuring. We must all also restructure ourselves. Restructure ourselves in Moscow, in Estonia, in Latvia, in Siberia--everywhere. Injustice, double standards, and all kinds of deviations and violations hardly suit people. Everyone is tired of that. We must gear ourselves toward honest working people--toward workers, peasants, young people, veterans. And promote new people.

N.I. Stepanov, grinder at the "Zavod imeni M.I. Kalinina" production association scientific research institute: Mikhail Sergeyevich, we are very inspired by the fact that you are openly striving to talk with the people.

M.S. Gorbachev: Not everyone has always paid attention to what people say, has always striven to listen to people and to consult with them. Of course, much could have been put right before. That is indeed the case, and we must face up to the plain truth.

And to ensure that our plans do not remain just plans and that what we used to observe is not repeated, we must be closer to people and involve them more actively in all processes. Everywhere, at all levels. That is the main thing. After all, it is all very simple. Without people no policy is implemented, it is dead. People know and see everything. And if they are involved and helped and if such an atmosphere is created, then what used to be will not be repeated in our country. That's the entire philosophy. It is simple. It can be expressed in two words. But, as you can see, we still have to produce lengthy reports. How about you, do you read them or not?

Voices: Of course we read them, and with great interest.

M.S. Gorbachev: I like your mood very much. It generates a deep faith that we will see through to the end the tremendous and very difficult matter we have initiated. And I ask you to advance, without hesitation--forward, forward! There will be difficulties. There will even be mistakes. But don't panic, we will manage everything!

M.S. Gorbachev displayed interest in how frequently the enterprise changes the models of its output. The workers and specialists told him the figure is slightly over 50 percent. Every year this is achieved with difficulty, but you must try. They asked M.S. Gorbachev to continue persistently the course toward restructuring and not to give way.

M.S. Gorbachev: We will unfailingly see it through to the end but on one condition--that you support us.

Voices: Of course! We will support you! And to ensure that peace is reliably defended!

M.S. Gorbachev: We will do everything to ensure there is no war. This is my first time here in Estonia. I am interested to know what people think about politics and about life in their republic. That is why I will try, even though I know your reticence, to talk in detail with people. Estonia has a good reputation throughout the Soviet Union. For the fact that you love the land, do a great deal on it, and know how to work. Thank you for that. But expand your work, expand it as rapidly as possible. And we need more goods, especially consumer goods, and goods of good quality, like those in your republic. That is why I wish you particular success in this matter.

A talk about restructuring matters and each person's personal contribution to the 5-year plan took place at the Tallinn "Marat" knitwear production association, which M.S. Gorbachev visited.

"Our collective," A. Kapral, the association's general director, said, "produces 250-300 models of knitted underwear and outerwear every year. And every year we update nearly half of our output. Last year we brought the proportion of articles with the 'New' tag up to 52 percent. We cannot do otherwise--the people need fine, modern articles of good quality."

The experiment in Estonia's light industry, in which the collective of "Marat men" is taking an active part, has done a great deal to help get rid of the gross output approach toward the production of consumer goods. Now that a unified industry and trade complex has been created, including enterprises, bases, and the network of the firm's own stores, they are succeeding in satisfying the population's requirements more promptly and to a higher standard. For instance, "Marat" has organized a sector of particularly fashionable items. The "Marat" collective works steadily thanks to the stability and small turnover of its cadres. And the purposeful, consistent concern of the party and trade union organizations and the association's administration for the development of the social and consumer sphere has helped achieve this.

When her "rear services" have been assured, a woman worker will unfailingly set an example of honest, conscientious, productive labor. M.S. Gorbachev said in one talk.

"Very well said," is the convinced opinion of N. Maybakh, leader of a team of sewing machine operators who has been in the party for 20 years.

The seamstresses work on the basis of the collective contract, taking into account the labor input coefficient. Last year the team was socialist competition leader 10 times in its shop, produced over 82,000 items of above-plan underwear, and fulfilled the annual target a week early. Everything would seem to be fine. But the team leader has different ideas on the subject:

"We believe that if there is to be restructuring then it should affect everything without exception. But what is actually happening? We sew children's underwear lovingly, we spare no effort to ensure that everything is fine and attractive and that the child is pleased. But sometimes when you come in to the shift two or three workplaces are empty. That means someone's children have fallen ill again. I am not talking of everyone, but there are still negligent workers in some kindergartens and creches--they just want to get through the day. They care for the children anyhow. And if the children are even slightly neglected then you have one who catches cold and his mother has a certificate to take time off. The result is that the rhythm is also disrupted in our team. No, our restructuring should be like a strong chain: so that all the links in it are joined to each other and pull each other up..."

During the meetings there was a discussion of a wide range of questions. There was also mention of the development of the cooperative form of ownership, which only recently was treated as something that was second best. Some experience has been accumulated in this matter in Estonia.



M.S. Gorbachev visited the city town hall where he met and talked with party, war, and labor veterans and leading production workers.

"What the Central Committee is doing, what has been planned, is very good," said G. Allik, a party member since 1917. "The only thing is that words should not deviate from deeds, that restructuring should not lose ground. Is that in your power, Mikhail Sergeyevich?"

M.S. Gorbachev: We will follow the road of the January Plenum--we will manage to do everything!

"One is simply delighted that restructuring has begun," we were told by writer Paul Kuusberg, who took part in this conversation. "Estonian writers are wholeheartedly in favor of restructuring. The traveler will cope with the road, and we will cope with restructuring. All the more so since we have a strong basis--the friendship of the peoples. And when people undertake something all together, things will work out. All that is needed is that everyone should act even more vigorously. And without putting it off until tomorrow. Time does not wait."

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary laid flowers at the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin and at the Maaryamyagi memorial complex erected in memory of the campaign in the ice which the Baltic fleet ships heroically accomplished in February 1918. That legendary crossing undertaken on direct orders from Vladimir Ilich Lenin was the first major strategic operation of the red revolutionary navy. Tallinn sacredly preserves the memory of this crossing.

#### SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on Estonian Visit

PM241101 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Feb 87 First Edition pp 1-2

[Report by TASS special correspondents A. Belikov, B. Grishchenko, and N. Zheleznov: "Concern for People Is the Linchpin of Party Policy. M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in the Estonian SSR"]

[Text] Tallinn, 19 Feb--M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Tallinn today.

He was met at the airport by K.G. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; A.F. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.E. Saul, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers; and members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

M.S. Gorbachev laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin. In the Maaryamyagi Memorial Complex flowers were laid at the eternal flame of the monument erected to the memory of the fighters for Soviet power.

Conversations with residents were struck up during the very first minutes of getting to know Tallinn.

In the center of the city the general secretary was surrounded by a group of young men and women. They included delegates to the 20th Estonian Komsomol Congress, which opens 20 February. They invited Mikhail Sergeyevich to their congress.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary inquired about the changes taking place in the life of the republic. We need open and honest discussion, he said, and we hide nothing from each other. All must participate in our affairs and realize in full the potential of our democracy.

Our people will do everything possible, a young worker entered the conversation, but we must rid ourselves more quickly of the chameleons who have quickly adapted to restructuring...

M.S. Gorbachev: There probably are such people. But, you know, what I would say is this. We still will not bring people in from anywhere for restructuring. We must all restructure ourselves. Restructure in Moscow, Estonia, Latvia, Siberia--everywhere. People hardly like injustice, double standards, all kind of deviations, or violations. Everyone is sick of this. We must orient ourselves toward honest working people--workers, peasants, young people, veterans. And promote new people.

N.I. Stepanov, polisher at the scientific research institute of the "M.I. Kalinin Plant" Production Association: Mikhail Sergeyevich, we are greatly inspired by the fact that you endeavor openly to talk with the people.

M.S. Gorbachev: Not everyone has always been attentive to what people say or always endeavored to listen to people and consult them. Of course, a lot could have been rectified before. That is really so, and the plain truth must be looked in the eyes.

And to ensure that our plans do not remain just plans and that what we observed earlier is not repeated, we must get closer to people and involve them more actively in all processes. Everywhere, at all levels. That is the chief thing. It is all very simple. Without people no policy is implemented, it is dead. People know and see everything. And if we involve and help them and create such an atmosphere, what happened will not be repeated. That is the whole philosophy. It is simple. It can be expressed in a couple of words. But, as you see, long reports still have to be made. What about you, do you read them or not?

Voices: Of course we read them. And with great interest.

M.S. Gorbachev: I like your mood very much. It creates profound faith that we will see through to the end the tremendous and very difficult thing that we have begun. And I beg you: Without hesitation--forward, forward! There will be difficulties. There will even be mistakes. Don't panic, we will manage everything!

In the afternoon the general secretary familiarized himself with Tallinn's "Marat" Production Association. This enterprise, which produces knitted goods, is known for the high quality of its output. The people there do not seek to impress with stunning exhibition models. All the best things created by artists, pattern makers, and designers are destined for the production lines and addressed to customers. However, there is also a reverse side to the coin: "Marat" is unable to satisfy in full the high demand for its products--there are insufficient capacities. M.S. Gorbachev spoke with the enterprise's workers, specialists, and Communists about the reserves which must be commissioned to enhance production efficiency.

M.S. Gorbachev inquired how frequently the enterprise changes product patterns. Workers and specialists reported: Just over 50 percent every year. It is not easy to do this, but it is necessary to try. They asked M.S. Gorbachev to persistently continue the policy of restructuring and not back down.

M.S. Gorbachev: We will certainly see it through to the end, but on the one condition that you will support us.

Voices: Of course! We will support you! And so that peace be reliably defended!

M.S. Gorbachev: We will do everything to prevent war. This is my first visit here, to Estonia. I find it interesting that people think both about politics and about life in their own republic. Therefore I will endeavor, even knowing your reserved character, still to speak with people in greater detail. Estonia has a good name throughout the Soviet Union. Because you love the land, do a great deal on it, and know how to work. Thank you for this. But step up your work, step it up more quickly. And we need more goods, particularly consumer goods, and good-quality ones like yours. Therefore I wish you special success in this matter.

The entire people, M.S. Gorbachev said, are interested in ensuring that all our enterprises are good and produce good products. But it is necessary to be concerned about working conditions all the time. For it is chiefly women who work here. We have a big program for the modernization of enterprises in the sewn goods industry. We want to involve our entire industry in this matter, and we also want to sign contracts with the socialist countries and modernization contracts. We are involving firms in capitalist countries in cooperation. We must thoroughly tackle our light industry. That is the first thing. The second is the housing problem.

Voices: This problem must be solved, and then it will be easier for the sector to advance.

M.S. Gorbachev: We are thinking about how to find in light industry more potential for accelerating the commissioning of housing. Less money for housing per worker is still being allocated here than in other sectors. Therefore the question requires special attention.

Following the familiarization with production, talks were held with leaders of the enterprise and of public organizations. Leaders of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Estonian SSR ministers participated in them.

Yu.a. Kraft, Estonian SSR minister of light industry, said that the sector is working under conditions of full financial autonomy.

M.S. Gorbachev: ...And self-financing, including the social, cultural, and consumer spheres. What has this given you?

Yu.a. Kraft: We can enlarge the enterprise, and at the same time we have been given the right to organize construction. The only snag is that construction materials are not being allocated for housing construction. This question is still not being resolved.

A.Kh. Kapral, association director: We use everything the enterprise earns on the basis of self-financing to carry out construction using our own resources. That is laid down in the conditions of the experiment.

The conversation went on to touch on questions connected with making fuller use of the potential of international production collaboration. It was pointed out that there are still many unutilized reserves in this direction. They must be commissioned more resolutely.

Directions in the technical modernization of the association and of light industry as a whole were examined in detail. The country's machine builders must accelerate the production of equipment needed to produce high-quality consumer goods. What is needed is great concern for the working and living conditions of light industry workers and those who are resolving a task of great social significance.

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA VIEW 27TH CPSU CONGRESS ANNIVERSARY

### PRAVDA Editorial

PM251703 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Following a Revolutionary Course. One Year Since the 27th CPSU Congress"]

[Text] In his interpretation of the lessons of history V.I. Lenin noted more than once the following important feature: In revolutionary periods the people's masses can "generate a fighting vigor one hundred times greater than in a normal period of tranquillity." At the very beginning of 1917, on the eve of the epoch-making events in Russia which shook the world, he talked with perspicacity about "how great and vast can and will be the effort" of the people's masses "if it is a matter of struggling for truly great goals, struggling in a truly revolutionary manner."

The 27th CPSU Congress opened in Moscow 1 year ago, 25 February. And today, as we sum up what has happened since then, we are faced again and again with the unfading correctness and topicality of Lenin's prediction. In giving a direct and frank answer to the most complex and most urgent questions of modern times and putting forward an audacious and at the same time entirely realistic program for the country's development, the congress imparted new momentum to the invigorating processes of renewal initiated by the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum in 1985. The fresh wind of change is inspiring millions of Soviet people, generating mighty creative energy. In terms of its quintessentially revolutionary character, the Bolshevik audacity of the plans, and the humanitarian social bias, the work being done now, as was noted at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum, is a direct extension of the great accomplishments initiated by our Leninist party in October 1917.

What are the most characteristic features which go to make up the general picture of what has been done in the past year? First of all, it can be stated quite definitely that the restructuring that has begun in the party and the country has become essentially irreversible, developing not only in breadth, but in depth as well, penetrating the deepest layers of our life. Society is on the move. The political line of the congress and the party's practical work to implement it have gained powerful popular support. The convincing evidence of this is the many thousands of letters from Soviet people in support of the course mapped out by the congress and their pronouncements during meetings with party and government leaders, at

meetings in labor collectives, and at the trade union report and election conferences and congresses on the eve of the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress, starting today.

The year since the party congress has brought, as is well known, important changes in our economy. Suffice it to recall that the increase in industrial production in 1986 was 4.9 percent, one-third greater than the average annual increase in the previous 5-year period. Serious work has started on transferring the economy to new methods of management and administration. The state acceptance system, geared to improving labor quality, is gathering momentum and accumulating experience. There has been an improvement in the agrarian sector. The accent on the social sphere is reflected in the increase in the volume of housing construction and commissioning of health centers and hospitals and cultural and consumer establishments. The measures to strengthen discipline and order in the country and to combat drunkenness and alcoholism and other negative phenomena have resulted in a marked reduction in losses of worktime and in the number of offenses.

But it would be wrong to evaluate what has been accomplished over the year from a purely practical viewpoint, in terms of immediate gains. Especially as the accomplishments in this area are really only the first steps. The 27th Congress' lessons in truth are of equal importance in terms of changes in the spiritual sphere and the improvement of the social atmosphere.

In order to ensure the success of the plans the party has boldly embarked on the path of the extensive democratization of all spheres of our life and the all-round development of openness, self-management, and the electoral principle. We are talking directly, openly, and frankly today about our shortcomings, troubles and problems, unafraid of admitting an error or a weakness. We are freely comparing different opinions in order to find the optimum ways of improving matters further. We are experimenting boldly in the economy and in the sociopolitical sphere because we know that only free thinking, untrammelled by dogma and prohibitions, and truly creative endeavor are really fruitful, ensuring progress. Therefore the further development of the democratization process remains one of our paramount tasks.

The essentially revolutionary transformations taking place in the country are of enormous significance not only for Soviet society, but for socialism as a whole, for the whole world. At the present crucial stage the international policy of the party and Soviet state is determined by domestic policy more than ever before. Indeed, only lasting peace will enable our people to concentrate all their efforts on implementing the planned transformations. The Soviet land has put forward the concept of establishing a system of all-embracing international security and is persistently and consistently urging the world to adopt a new way of political thinking capable of delivering the peoples of the world from the threat of wars and aggression, from new rounds of the senseless arms race.

This policy is finding increasing support worldwide. The Moscow international forum "For a Nuclear-free World, for the Survival of Mankind" was striking evidence of this. It made an impassioned appeal to the peoples and governments to learn to live in peace with one another and protect the future of mankind.

Yes, much has been done in the year since the party congress. We have increased our work rate, and the authority of the Soviet land its domestic and foreign policy in the world has considerably increased. But it is a rule in the Leninist party not to be seduced by successes. One must not lose sight of the fact that only the first steps have been taken on the difficult path of renewal, only the initial experience has been acquired. A very great deal has still to be done to finally remove the obstructions and accretions due to inertia, routine, and red tape. It is also necessary to solve the underlying, large-scale problems of acceleration affecting the foundations of our economy and social policy, the functioning of the political system, the state of the spiritual sphere of society, and, ultimately, the life and activity of the party itself as the decisive force and guarantee of the success of restructuring.

In short, a great deal of extremely crucial work has to be done, demanding full effort. We cannot, we have no right to postpone our plans or stop halfway. We have to go forward at an increasingly fast rate, restructuring as we go, in order to allow people to experience in the current 5-year plan, above all via the social sphere, the fruits of our economy's greater dynamism and of the whole process of change initiated by the party.

A very great deal depends here on how successfully and efficiently the country works this year -- the year of the 70th anniversary of Great October.

This year, like the years to come in the current 5-year plan, is to be a serious test for all our cadres, for every party organization, and for every labor collective. It will reveal and involve in active work the real devotees of restructuring. It will make those who obstinately cling to old methods, who cannot or will not understand the demands of the time get out of the way.

The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress remain for us a powerful inspiring stimulus to new accomplishments and a militant action program. And there is now no more important task for Communists and all Soviet people than to implement its plans in concrete deeds and consolidate and develop the revolutionary stride, the mental attitude, and the desire for change brought about by the party's great plans to renew the country.

## IZVESTIYA Report

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Following the Course of the 27th Party Congress"]

[Text] We have lived through a year since the day the 27th CPSU Congress began its work in Moscow. Remember the state of burning, keen attention with which each one of us awaited this event, realizing that the congress would determine both the future of society as a whole and the destiny of each one of us. Inspired by the life-giving processes of renewal whose foundation had been laid by the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum, we expected from the congress an open, direct, and honest reply to the most urgent, acute, and complex questions put by the times and we expected sober assessments and audacious but unfailingly realistic plans.

We were not wrong in our expectations. The congress showed that the party can derive lessons from the past to the maximum degree, can consider the time we are living in a profound, Leninist manner, and elaborate a realistic, comprehensively considered program of action. The 27th CPSU Congress lent powerful acceleration to the matter initiated by the party nearly 70 years ago and made vigorous and substantial amendments to our daily life and to our consciousness.

We have lived through a year. Today, in assessing the magnitude of our work, we rightly speak of the revolutionary changes taking place in our society today. And it is a case not only of the economy, which is transferring to new methods of economic management and administration which should ensure the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, not only of the drastic turn toward people's needs, expressed in special attention toward the social sphere -- no less important and no less promising are the visible and rapidly growing changes in the spiritual sphere, in people's consciousness, in their attitude toward matters, toward everything taking place in the labor collectives and the country as a whole. Sensing that they are the masters, people no longer want to remain onlookers in their own house -- they are speaking frankly about sore points, renouncing obsolete written and unwritten rules, habits, and approaches, are demanding rights are learning how to use those granted to them to elect, resolve, and really administer. The human factor is at work, democracy is at work! "Only through democracy and thanks to democracy," the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum said, "is actual restructuring possible. Only thus can we open up scope for the most powerful creative force of socialism -- free labor and free thought in a free country."

We have lived through a year. We are rightly proud of the changes in which we have taken part and which we have witnessed. But let's also demand realism and sobriety of ourselves: We are still only at the start of the difficult and complicated path, we are still only approaching the implementation of such longed-for aims. Therefore we will not flatter



ourselves with what has been done, we will not rush to deliver victorious reports even if there are grounds for so doing. However much hope the changes may have inspired in us, we will not close our eyes to the fact that the tempo and scope of restructuring still do not satisfy us. The editorial mail, meetings, and local reports show that to this day there are still labor collectives and even geographical zones where restructuring can be judged only by words but in no way, by deeds. There are still leaders who, while studiously repeating words about openness and democracy, to this day firmly adhere to arbitrary methods of management tested over the years, evidently hoping that the inconvenient changes fraught with new, unaccustomed trials, will pass them by. That is on the one hand. On the other there are rank and file workers or to be more precise full citizens of our society who are either reluctant to make use of the rights granted to them or who, at the very first clash of views, gesture helplessly and retreat into convenient shadow as though they did not realize that nothing new is given or offered without a struggle, like a gift tied up with festive ribbons.

The processes initiated by the 27th CPSU Congress are acquiring an increasingly stable, irreversible nature with every passing day and those who by their passivity and adherence to obsolete methods of operation and thinking are voluntarily or involuntarily countering restructuring risk being cast aside. And there is no need to spend time learning and repeating the correct words -- we are all tested by action. Ordinary or exalted action, but action. And action alone!

We have lived a year since the 27th party congress and nearly 70 years since the Great October. There is a direct and indissoluble link between these events. In its deep revolutionary essence, in the bolshevik audacity of its plans, in its humane social orientation, the work which is now being performed is the direct continuation of the great accomplishments initiated by our Leninist party in the days of October 1917.

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### NOVOSTI'S FALIN INTERVIEWED ON USSR REFORMS

AU271047 [Editorial report] Vienna Television Service in German at 2045 GMT on 24 February carries a 160-minute panel discussion on the recent developments in the Soviet Union, hosted by Paul Lendvai, head of the East Europe department of the Austrian Radio and Television Service, ORF, with the following participants: Valentin Falin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the board of the Polish weekly POLITYKA; Karin Brandauer, awardwinning Austrian film director, Herbert Kremp, publisher of the FRG daily DIE WELT; Leopold Spira, chief editor of the Austrian monthly WIENER tagebuch and former member of the KPOE Central Committee; and Franz Koessler, ORF correspondent in Moscow.

Asked by Herbert Kremp whether the bureaucracy, "the ruling minority in the Soviet Union" will permit the new developments, Valentin Falin points out that the minority does represent the interests of the majority and then says: "If the general secretary did not have the understanding and the support of the party, if he had no understanding and support in the masses of the population, he would not be able to start this, to start it in such a way, and to carry it out in such a way as is already being done. The strength of his position is mainly that he has the support of the overwhelming majority, in the party, in the party's Central Committee, in the state apparatus, not to speak of the population." "If today, 1 year after our party's 27th Congress, we analyze the situation, we do not exaggerate, I think, when we note that positive changes have been achieved. The changes have a certain scope, they have roots, deep roots, and thus, we can look to the future, at least in our country, with optimism."

Daniel Passent adds to these observations: "I believe it is still too early to speak about limits to the changes in the Soviet Union, because the situation is developing so quickly that what was impossible to conceive yesterday is occurring today. And therefore, I think that tomorrow something might happen that today nobody believes to be realistic or possible."

Asked about the discrepancy in the contents of Gorbachev's speech at the Central Committee Plenum and of the Politburo resolution and about the lack of reports on the Politburo discussions, Falin says that during the Politburo discussions "different opinions were expressed about how openly

Soviet problems should be discussed, because the papers wanted to criticism some things but the reports did not say whether the criticism had any effect. Some secretaries said that this continuous criticism does not have any consequences. And some thought that one has to wait until these consequences come to the fore and then respective reports can be made. This was not supported by the majority."

"If, as Mr Kremp says, not everything Mr Gorbachev said is in the resolution of the Central Committee Plenum, this is natural. It would probably be a 200-page document if everything were formulated in specific paragraphs, specific stipulations, in this resolution."

When Lendvai points out that the discrepancies mainly applied to two topics, the secret ballot and the party conferences, Falin counters that secret ballots have already been implemented in the elections of first party secretaries in two Soviet towns, and in the elections of factory directors.

Passent states that the fact that the Central Committee resolution did not include everything Gorbachev had said is "a positive development, because, previously, if the Central Committee resolution accepted everything the general secretary said, one said that this is no sovereign political discussion, this is not a competent body, this is only bureaucratic acceptance.

Continuing, Falin says that "skepticism is always good" and that Gorbachev himself is the first one to be skeptical and is very "self-critical."

Concerning the repeated comparison of today's changes in the Soviet Union with those at the time of Khrushchav, Falin says: "I would like to note the following: It is probably not quite correct to compare today's changes with those at the time of Khrushchev. The main difference is that today we realize with deepest conviction that the democratization of the system, democratization in the sense of true administration by the people, is not only the desirable direction of development but actually the only possible one."

Falin points out that Mikhail Gorbachev never thinks "that he knows everything. He must ask others for advice about why something was like that, is like that, and what the future will be like. He always needs new arguments. He is looking for arguments -- not polemics, but arguments; he is looking for discussions."

Reminded by the other participants in the discussion that on the surface everyone seems to agree with Gorbachev and that the people do not seem to dare to voice any objections, but that there are obvious discrepancies between the general reports and reality, Falin says: "When we note a certain restraint today, this is an expression of the fact that in the past the people heard similar things but they were not implemented. They really expected a lot from what was said 20, 30 years ago concerning the need for democratization. And there was not much left of this democratic process in the end."

"Today, I think, there is a qualitative difference. This difference is that we tell the people not only about the mistakes of our grandfathers or fathers, not about the mistakes that were made before we came, before Gorbachev came, but also about the mistakes that he himself accepts as his own responsibility. He does not say I have realized all this because I did not participate in the previous activities. He says we all are responsible for the long delay and therefore we must frankly tell the people what has to be done, what has to be done in the party, why things have to be done in this way and not differently."

Speaking about the communist party in general, Falin states that most people become members of the party not because they want more power but because they believe in its ideas and want to help to spread them.

Referring to the distortion of Lenin's teachings, Falin says: "The difficulties had already started at the time of Lenin, when the basic idea of the October Revolution was one of the most unbloody revolutions in the world. On the day of the revolution only two or three people were killed." "After the October Revolution everybody was elected: army commanders, all professors at the universities." "But then the civil war started, foreign interference began, and then war communism [Kriegskommunismus] started. This is the problem that did not evolve out of the internal development of party and ideology but because of external conditions."

Asked by Lendvai what would have happened if Konstantin Chernenko had been stronger and healthier, Falin answers that "this expresses the American wish that Chernenko should have lived longer and Gorbachev would have become general secretary a few years later."

Daniel Oassent points out that the "great difference between Gorbachev and Khrushchev is the fact that 25, almost 30 years have passed. Much has happened in the meantime. One must not isolate the developments in the Soviet Union from the context in other socialist countries."

After Passent refers to Jaruzelski's wholeheartedly support for the Soviet reforms and Kremp points out that this support is definitely different among the socialist countries, Falin states that the reforms that are being implemented in the USSR at present "reflect not only our own experiences but the experiences of all socialist countries. We admit that we have thoroughly studied what has been done or not done in Hungary, in the CDR, in Poland, in China, and in the CSSR. We do not do everything ourselves. We do not say what is being done in our country must be done everywhere else in all other socialist states. It is not our task to prescribe to the other states how things should be. They will -- out of consideration -- try to understand what suits them, what is in their interest or not."

Referring to the international conditions that influence domestic development, Falin says that one important factor is military parity with the United States: "And we have had parity in the true sense of the word since the end of the 1970's. Now we can decide how much we follow the U.S. efforts, and in which we will develop our own technologies."



With regard to the presentation of history in the Soviet Union, Falin affirms that now "history is being presented in a more objective and business-like way and this is necessary because the young people have to know what things were really like."

Once more referring to military parity between the superpowers, Falin says: "Today there is parity -- the Americans admit it. Why do they want to ruin us economically. Please read the Pentagon papers of May 1982 -- there you can read it in black and white. They want to ruin us economically."

When Herbert Kremp points out that the Pentagon is not a Central Committee, Falin responds: "The Pentagon is the Pentagon. We know the Pentagon's role and we do not want to play down this role.

Unfortunately, it is a factor in international relations and in American life and when the Pentagon continues armament then this is not because the United States has too much money."

Asked whether it was a grave mistake to treat Andrey Sakharov the way he was treated in the past, Falin says that he "personally would have dealt with the case in a different manner at that time."

Then the discussion turns to humanitarian issues and to the recent release of many people charged with slander of the Soviet Union and anti-Soviet activities. Franz Koessler says that Soviet media do not report much about these releases and Falin counters that "if something like that happens in the Soviet Union it arouses interest. If something similar happens in Great Britain this is hardly reported with one line in Western papers and this is also natural. I do not know whether this is because this happens more often or more rarely in Great Britain." He also refers to the fate of Leonard Peltier in the United States, which is, as Falin says, not much reported in Europe.

Lendvai reads a telegram by the Vorarlberg group of Amnesty International welcoming the release of "more than 100 so-called political prisoners," and asking Falin whether "in the near future the release of prisoners imprisoned only for religious reasons can be expected."

Falin answers: "I would like to say that no one is imprisoned in the Soviet Union for so-called purely religious reasons. During the discussion with mass media representatives, Mikhail Gorbachev made a very interesting statement. I think it was the PRAVDA chief editor who spoke about anti-religious work. And Gorbachev told him that there is nothing like that. There is, as we say in Russian, atheist education, there is not antireligious propaganda in our country. This is prohibited by the Constitution, because we are in favor of freedom of conscience. In our country there are people who, under the pretense of some religious activities, are pursuing totally unreligious things that are illegal. And these people are punished. But, I repeat -- and I know this definitely -- that there are not people in our country who are imprisoned for their religious views. And, hopefully, there will never be such people. This is not necessary, either, because, it is no problem for the people and even less a problem for the party."

Asked whether the process of releasing prisoners will continue, Falin answers: "It will continue if we understand the same thing under the term release. I personally understand this term in the way that people are offered sufficient opportunities to leave the country and the problem itself is dealt with in a more humane way. If we mean the same thing with this term, I agree."

Responding to Lendvai's assertion that now even the dismal conditions in Soviet prisons are beginning to be discussed openly, Falin says that these conditions were already discussed before the war and "it is not a problem to discuss them but to change them in such a way that there is no reasons for discussion. Basically, in your countries as in our country a prison is not a recreation home but a penal institution, and therefore the conditions in such institutions are essentially alien to man."

Falin points out that in the Soviet Union, as well as in the West, the problem which concerns him most is that "the number of unmotivated criminal acts is higher than ever before in the past 30 years, although in our country the crime rate has decreased very much over the past year as a result of our campaign against alcoholism."

When asked about the reasons why groups of people recently broke up demonstrations in Moscow for the release of Iosif Begun and whether these people were "part of the party," Falin denies this allegation and says that they are "young workers, from Moscow's suburbs, partly students in vocational schools, who come to Moscow in the evening and start to reeducate people with different views. These are the heavy metal groups, the rock groups, and so on."

He also says that these events were counterproductive: "First, there was this demonstration arranged for freeing a Jew just on the eve of the Moscow Peace Forum and at a time when many people received permission to leave the country. Actually there was no reason for demonstrating for Begun because the family had been told that his case would be positively reevaluated." Falin assumed that the people breaking up this demonstration wanted to express their negative attitude toward emigrants since some emigrants have returned to the USSR and "these reemigrants are not warmly welcomed in the Soviet Union" because they receive preferential treatment concerning housing, work, and so on.

Falin reaffirms that "the counterdemonstrators were not, as you imply, actually uniformed men wearing civilian clothes over their uniforms. We should not consider the events under the supposition that in our country only that which is permitted happens and that things which are not permitted or which do not seem to suit you always have a political background."

Asked in conclusion whether there are any guarantees that the reforms will really be implemented and not be cancelled as was the case with Krushchev's reforms, Falin says. "It is envisaged that the party body will be renewed, that the party secretary is not elected for life but only until a certain

age limit, and that he can be elected twice or three times at the most. The same principle will be applied in other connections, too. This will be ensured. The knowledge about the events in the past that you mentioned is available. There is only the question of whether everything is done from one day to the next, or whether one needs some time for this. This is the important, the primary question." "There is a proverb that says there is no turning back. We have reached a certain stage of democratization and from this state we will proceed only forward, not backward. It has also been said that we are not somewhere in the middle of the process or at the end, but we are at the very beginning. And, in a certain sense, in our democratization we are at the beginning of the beginning. Much is being done that was recognized as a principle and as a necessity at the beginning of the revolution and, for many reasons -- external and internal reasons -- was not realized. Now this is being realized. And this is why we say that it will be like a new revolution."

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CSO: 1826/003

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### NIKONOV VISITS UZBEKISTAN, ADDRESSES REGIONAL CONFERENCE

PM241801 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 87 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Back up Words With Specific Deeds"]

[Text] V.P. Nikonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in the Uzbek SSR from 16 to 21 February. He visited kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and construction industry enterprises within the agroindustrial complex, scientific institutions, and food stores in Karakalpak ASSR and in Bukhara and Tashkent Oblasts.

At the sovkhoz named for the 60th anniversary of the USSR he was thoroughly briefed on hothouse farming, while scientists, specialists, team leaders, and machine operators at the sovkhoz named for the 50th anniversary of the Komsomol spoke of the problems of rice cultivation in the republic. Discussion at the Krakalpak Meat Combine centered on the degree of processing which products undergo, the expansion of meat product variety, and the improvement of quality.

At Kodzheyliyskiy Rayon's V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked about the organization of cotton production, the work of links operating on collective contracts, the farm's economy, and the development of subsidiary activities. Questions concerning the improved quality of cotton fiber were examined at Bukhara Oblast's ginning enterprise.

At scientific establishments and at science and production establishments he was familiarized with the organization of the matters concerning scientific developments and their introduction into production, and saw for himself the whole range of machines and equipment for the growing of cotton, vegetables, and fruit, as well as equipment for the operation and construction of irrigation systems.

Meetings took place with labor collectives and with party and economic workers from the republic, and questions concerning construction for social and consumer service purposes and the utilization of Uzbekistan's labor resources were discussed in the course of conversation with them.

A conference of central committee secretaries of the Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tajik, and Turkmen Communist Parties and of obkom secretaries from these republics in charge of agricultural questions, chairmen of republic and oblast



agroindustrial committees, and other workers from the agroindustrial complex of Central Asian republics was held in Tashkent on 21 February.

A detailed analysis was made of the reasons for the slow rates of increase in the output of agricultural products, the inefficient utilization of production potential created in Central Asian republics, and the low returns on funds invested in land reclamation. Ways to eliminate shortcomings were mapped out.

The conference discussed the tasks of party and agricultural organs in Central Asian republics sharply to increase productivity in agriculture and boost the economics of kolkhoz and sovkhos production.

It was noted that a powerful production potential has been created within the agrarian complex of Central Asian republics. But this potential is poorly utilized and fails to produce the proper returns.

The situation prevailing in the region is largely attributable to serious shortcomings in the development of leading sectors in the agroindustrial complex. Most farms produce poor harvests on irrigated land. Party organizations in the republics and agricultural organs have relaxed their demands and their monitoring with regard to the fulfillment of pledges and plan targets by collectives, words have frequently diverged from deeds here, and inadequate work has been done on kolkhozes and sovkhos to introduce advanced forms of labor organization.

The republics make insufficient use of developments engendered at the region's scientific establishments, and forms of cooperation between science and production such as science-production and production-science systems and associations are being introduced too timidly. Insufficient attention is given to questions of training cadres for all economic links of the agroindustrial complex.

V.P. Nikonov addressed the conference.

Taking part in the conference were V.S. Morakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee; I.B. Usmanhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department; N.F. Vasilyev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources; A.I. Zverev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Forestry; Academician A.A. Nikonov, president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences; and other senior officials from the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and a number of ministries and departments.

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CSO: 1830/335

## **PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS**

### **KUSTANAY OFFICIAL RESPONDS TO PRAVDA ARTICLE**

**PM221029 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 86 First Edition p 2**

**[V. Demidenko, first secretary of the Kustanay Kazakh Communist Party Obkom, response to PRAVDA article under the rubric PRAVDA Carried the Item. "What Has Been Done?": "On a Principled Footing"]**

**[Text] The dispatch published in PRAVDA on 19 September under the headline "The Article Was Read at the Gorkom" has been discussed at a session of the Kustanay Kazakh Communist Party Obkom Buro. The criticism was deemed correct.**

**Certain personnel of the Kustanay Gorkom and Gorispolkom took a prejudiced view of articles published in the newspaper LENINSKIY PUT and reacted unhealthily to criticism of shortcomings in the work of city organizations and their leaders. The party Obkom Buro once reversed a Gorkom decision to punish Ya. Shakirov, the newspaper's deputy editor. Yu. Gaynanov, director of the Kustanayvodstroy Construction Trust, was severely punished for persecuting the author of the critical article. However, the Gorkom Buro and the Gorispolkom failed to learn from this and proceeded to ignore a number of articles which called for the adoption of specific measures.**

**By decision of the party organizations of the Gorkom and the Gorispolkom apparatus V. Mikhaylov, first secretary of the Gorkom, S. Bakay, chairman of the Gorispolkom, A. Tarasenko, chief of the Gorkom Propaganda and Agitation Section, and S. Polishchuk, secretary of the Gorkom, have been censured for their incorrect reaction to press material and for ignoring critical articles in the newspaper LENINSKIY PUT. V. Zubkov, deputy chairman of the Gorispolkom, was severely reprimanded by the Obkom Buro and had his record card endorsed.**

**F. Konontsev and A. Volosyan, who were named in the article, have been relieved of their leading positions and have received severe party penalties.**

**The Obkom Buro has instructed party committees to support in every way the principled critical tenor of press and radio material, resolutely to eradicate suppression of criticism, to ensure great openness in work, and to strive for increased creative activeness on the part of the masses and for the establishment of the democratic principles of social justice.**

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**CSO: 1830/330**

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### RAYKOM LEADER DISMISSED FOR LAXNESS ON LIQUOR

PM271555 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Moscow CPSU Gorbkom"]

[Excerpts] At a routine session held on 14 January the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Buro examined the question of serious shortcomings in the work of the Timiryazevskiy CPSU Raykom in carrying out the CPSU Central Committee resolutions on overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism. It was noted that the Timiryazevskiy Raykom has been inactive and has relaxed its demandingness in carrying out party directives on launching an uncompromising struggle against these dangerous negative phenomena. Many labor collectives and primary party organizations are left out of this important work. Exactingness has been slackened toward communists and leading cadres who have not created an atmosphere of intolerance toward drunkenness in the Rayon and of deviations from the principled line of overcoming it. Communist trade union leaders who fail to intervene in the struggle against violations of the antialcohol legislation are not brought to account.

The Rayon's public education and health organs are not active and persistent in combating drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug abuse. Work to prevent offenses due to drunkenness, including among minors, is conducted unsatisfactorily.

Alcohol-related crime in the rayon has risen. However, the activity of the Rayon Internal Affairs Administration, which embarked on the path of overreporting and distorting the genuine state of affairs, has not been monitored by the party Raykom and the Rayispolkom.

The crude mistakes in the work to eradicate drunkenness and other negative phenomena are directly linked with the passivity of Comrade Yu. A. Grafov, first secretary of the party Raykom, and his inability to analyze the situation, organize matters, and step up activeness in work. The Rayispolkom (Chairman Comrade N.M. Kalugin) has failed to take measures to coordinate the actions of the deputies' group, the Rayon Commission for the struggle against drunkenness, and social organizations, and has failed to ensure that the leaders of Rayon services are brought to account.

The Raykom Buro, aware of the atmosphere of low demandingness and poor discipline prevailing in the Rayon, failed to make a strict party assessment of the Rayon leaders.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Buro relieved Comrade Yu. A. Grafov of his duties as first secretary of Timiryazevskiy CPSU Raykom for his failure in work to carry out the CPSU Central Committee resolutions on overcoming drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug abuse, for his ignorance of the situation in the Rayon, for serious failings in cadre work, for his unsuitable leadership style, and for his reluctance to conduct restructuring in the spirit of the party congress demands. It was noted that the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration Collegium has decided to relieve Militia Colonel N.I. Kuzmin, chief of the Timiryazevskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration, of his duties for his unprincipled attitude toward the numerous instances of violations of socialist legality in the Rayon and has recommended that he be dismissed from USSR MVD organs. The commission instructed the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Party Control Commission to submit a proposal on the personal responsibility of other Rayon leaders for their inactivity and failings in work.

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CSO: 1830/331



## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### AZERBAIJAN CP CC NOTES LAW ENFORCEMENT ABUSES, ERRORS

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 22 Jan 87 p 1

[Article: "Within the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP has discussed the question of further strengthening law and order and the protection of the rights and legal interests of citizens.

The resolution that was passed notes that the implementation of the course to accelerate socio-economic development, to democratize all aspects of public life and to encourage growth in the creative activeness of the masses, as confirmed by the 27th party congress, is indivisible from strengthening socialist law and order, from achieving the dependable protection of constitutional rights and legal interests of Soviet citizens, and from strict adherence to the principles of social justice.

The systematically-implemented measures on regulating the legal basis of government and public life, on strengthening socialist discipline, on eradication of postscripts and misrepresentation, on the elimination of drunkenness and alcoholism, on the strengthening of the struggle against the diversion of non-labor income and against various legal violations have received the unanimous support and approval of workers.

Nevertheless, the work that is being directed at achieving socialist law and order and at protecting the rights and legal interests of citizens is not yet sufficiently effective and does not fully meet the requirements of the party at the contemporary stage. Deviations from legal standards are tolerated and there have been cases of violations of labor laws, of the established order for housing allocation and of the order for levying fines and for incurring other administrative penalties.

In many republic ministries and departments there are frequent cases of violations of labor laws. In guaranteeing law enforcement in the national economy the responsibility of judicial services and the role of the state arbitration organs has been minimized.

An analysis of the status of law enforcement and law and order attests to the low level of activity of the republic's law-enforcement organs and to the

extremely slow rate of restructuring of these organs' operations. The number of serious crimes being committed remains high and the principle of the inevitability of punishment is poorly adhered to. Workers of law-enforcement organs who have been called upon by virtue of their positions to carry out the laws and to protect the rights of citizens dependably sometimes themselves incur serious violations of the law.

Workers of the office of the public prosecutor and the police organs have been allowed to make mistakes and to exhibit haste in dealing with questions of instituting criminal proceedings, making arrests, detaining people and carrying out searches. There are more than isolated instances in which citizens have been subjected groundlessly to the institution of criminal proceedings and arrest. Callousness and a contemptuous attitude on the part of workers of law enforcement organs toward the justified complaints of citizens often result in arbitrariness and lawlessness. This is also attested to by the numerous letters and statements and oral appeals by workers to the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP and to higher-standing party and soviet organs.

Thus, in 1984 several workers from the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, Mekhtiyev, Yeremeyev, Sadykhov and others, were groundlessly convicted for embezzlement and postscripts. Upon the protest of the USSR Office of the Public Prosecutor the criminal proceedings were halted due to the absence of any criminal wrongdoing on the part of the aforementioned individuals. Strict disciplinary action was taken against those guilty of violations of socialist law in this matter and investigators Rasulov and Orudzhaliyev were discharged from the organs of the public prosecutor. Party organizations were strictly reprimanded and recordings were made in the party cards of Rasulov and Orudzhaliyev, the former deputy public prosecutor Bogomolov, member of the Supreme Soviet Karakmazli. A reprimand was issued to Bagdasarov, department director in the public prosecutor's office.

Lawlessness and arbitrariness were also tolerated in the case of the director of Bygyrskiy Garnet Mining Sovkhoz of Geokchayskiy Rayon, Gafurov, who was illegally under arrest for over 3 years. Thereafter the case was dismissed due to the absence of criminal evidence.

Violations of socialist law took place during an investigation of and legal proceedings against Bakhchiyev, a school director in Shemakhinskiy Rayon, Burdzhaliyev, a worker for the Shamkhorskaya GES [Hydroelectric Power Station], Mamedov, director of a ZhK [Housing Operation Office] in the city of Kirovabad, Aliyev, a worker for the organs of internal affairs, Babayev, director of the Nasiminskiy Division of Social Security and a number of other individuals who were illegally under arrest for a long period of time.

To a large extent all of these violations are the result of an irresponsible attitude toward their responsibilities by workers of law enforcement organs and of their low level of training and competence.

There are serious shortcomings in the implementation by the public prosecutor's office of supervision of whether or not socialist law is being observed. The Azerbaijan SSR Office of the Public Prosecutor and the deputy

prosecutor of the republic, Comrade A. Sultanov, who is responsible for organizing the supervision by the public prosecutor of investigations and inquiries, are not taking the necessary measures to enforce laws during the investigation of criminal cases.

Serious violations of socialist law are tolerated by workers of the investigative apparatus of the Azerbaijan SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Here we still find instances of superficial investigations and improper classification of crimes, prejudice, a biased approach when conducting preliminary investigations, and the falsification of case materials. In the struggle against violations of law great losses are incurred by the cover-up of crimes to avoid investigation. In this regard an unfavorable situation has developed within the administrations of GAI [State Automobile Inspection], BKhSS [Combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation], corrective labor institutions and other subdivisions. The administration of the MVD and first deputy minister Comrade T. Aslanov, curator of the investigation administration, are not taking the necessary measures to adhere to socialist law during the investigation of criminal cases and do not demonstrate demandingness toward subordinates.

Gross violations of socialist law are tolerated by the republic's legal organs. Courts are still not investigating all circumstances comprehensively and completely in every case. Courts offer poor guarantees of the principle of individualized punishment, especially with regard to first-time offenders in insignificant crimes who can be reformed without being isolated from society. As a result, in many cases the sentence is overturned or changed by a higher court. The administration of the republic's ministry of justice, and the first deputy minister, Comrade A. Zulfugarov, who is the direct overseer of the operations of the legal organs, have not achieved a level of quality in investigation of cases or the steadfast adherence to socialist law by courts.

Errors and miscalculations are tolerated in the republic's Supreme Court, where during the examination of specific cases of the first instance there are many unjustified and illegal sentences which later must be repealed.

At the same time some directors of law-enforcement organs are trying to justify instances of violations of socialist law and the limitation of the rights of citizens, while groundlessly attributing these actions to the strengthening of the struggle against negative phenomena.

The party organizations of law enforcement organs and political departments of the MVD are not carrying out purposeful work with regard to avoiding violations of socialist law and the limitation of citizens' rights. This important question was not discussed at party meetings. The necessary demandingness is not being exhibited towards communists who tolerate digressions from the law. Rarely do we hear reports from communists-directors about the conditions relating to obeying socialist law when conducting investigations, inquiries and legal proceedings.

The work of many directors of ministries and departments as concerns adherence to state and contractual discipline, labor laws, laws on the protection of



socialist property and strengthening the struggle against fraud, mismanagement and wastefulness does not meet party standards.

Soviets of people's deputies are poorly involved in questions related to the work of law enforcement organs, in the rigorous adherence to law by government organs, responsible parties and citizens, in securing the preservation of public order and in increasing the activity of every Soviet individual as regards the fulfillment of his constitutional obligations.

In all of this work there has been a negative effect resulting from the absence of constant interactions among the Academy of Sciences, Minvuz [Ministry of Higher Education], Minpros [Ministry of Education], Gosprofobr [State Committee of Vocational-Technical Education], Minyust [Ministry of Justice], offices of the public prosecutor, the MVD, scientific-research institutes, educational institutions, sources of mass information, and the republic's Znaniye societies as regards questions of simplifying ties between the judicial sciences and practice, improvements in legal education and training of workers, and development in workers of a deep respect for the law and a conviction that abiding by the law is the decisive factor in maintaining stable law enforcement and the rights of citizens.

Party obkoms, raykoms and gorkoms are still inadequately directing and coordinating efforts by party organizations, soviet, law enforcement and economic organs and all of society as regards the eradication and prevention of any digressions from the requirements of the law and any types of actions that infringe on the rights of citizens. They are not demonstrating the necessary political leadership and daily control over the activities of law enforcement organs. They are not giving the necessary attention to questions of selecting and distributing cadres within these organs, or of raising the activeness and battle readiness of their local party organizations; they do not always make a fundamental evaluation of cases in which laws have been violated and do not exhibit implacability with regard to those who attempt to trample Soviet law.

In examining steadfast adherence to law, continued improvements in guaranteeing rights to citizens and in protecting their legal interests as an essential condition for the normal functioning of the soviet political system, for the development of our state system, and for strengthening the socialist self-government of the people, the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP focused the attention of Comrade G. Talybov, chairman of the Supreme Court, Comrade I. Ismailov, the republic's public prosecutor, Comrade D. Veliyev, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Comrade A. Orudzhev, Minister of Justice, on their personal responsibility for achieving socialist law and order, for strengthening the protection of the rights and legal interests of citizens. They have been assigned the task of radically restructuring the style and methods of work, being guided by the decisions of the 27th party congress and the June 1986 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, as concerns eliminating shortcomings in the activities of law enforcement organs, improving management of these organs, and improving in every way possible demandingness towards cadres for the irreproachable fulfillment of their work obligations.



It is essential to halt decisively instances of prejudice, of a biased approach in carrying out inquiries, preliminary investigations and legal proceedings, of red tape, and of cruelty and indifference to the fates of individuals. We must completely eliminate from practice instances of groundless detentions, arrests, searches, illegal initiation of criminal proceedings against citizens, the falsification of materials in cases and other unlawful methods which manifest themselves in the course of inquiries and investigations. Each such case must be regarded as an extreme occurrence and the strictest measures must be taken against the guilty parties.

We must look into every case of illegal arrests, of institution of criminal proceedings and censure; we must examine the personal responsibility of guilty parties right up to dismissing them from agencies.

Comrade A. Sultanov, First Deputy Public Prosecutor of the Azerbaijan SSR, was given a strict reprimand for failure to carry out the supervision required by a public prosecutor when investigating criminal cases, for the low quality of investigations and inquiries, and for failure to implement measures related to eliminating instances of illegal arrests and the detention of citizens.

Comrade A. Zulfugrov, First Deputy Minister of Justice of the Azerbaijan SSR, was issued a reprimand for failing to achieve leadership over the republic's courts as regards the undeviating adherence by them to the requirements of socialist law, for the low quality of legal investigation of cases, for red tape and for bureaucratism within legal agencies.

Comrade T. Aslanov, First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, has been reprimanded for failing to achieve leadership of the investigative apparatus and for failing to take effective measures to avoid gross violations of socialist law during the investigation of criminal cases.

The Supreme Court of the Azerbaijan SSR has been given the assignment of examining the question of the recall of supreme court member Comrade O. Karakmazli for gross violations of socialist law during the examination of criminal cases.

It was recognized that a number of workers of law enforcement organs guilty of violating socialist law and of infringing upon the rights of citizens have been dismissed and have been subject to party and disciplinary punishment. Under examination is the party responsibility of all individuals who have tolerated violations of socialist law and infringements upon the rights of citizens.

The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP has obliged party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms to develop extensively, and carry out, systematically and purposefully, work related to achieving strict observance of socialist law and of the rights of citizens, seeing this as one of the important, integral parts of the restructuring that is taking place.

The aforementioned organizations must perform the daily management of the activities and coordination of efforts of party organizations, government institutions, law enforcement organs and all society as regards the

elimination and avoidance of any deviations from the requirements of the law and of any actions which infringe upon the rights of citizens. They must actively utilize organizational, economic, investigative and legal resources for these purposes.

They must improve work with the legal education of workers and with the development in workers of a thorough understanding of the indivisibility of rights and obligations, a high level of citizenship, respect for Soviet law and the rules of socialist society, and of a conviction that sound law and intelligent discipline are an integral part of our democracy.

The aforementioned organizations must develop an atmosphere of intolerance to violations of law in every collective. Each such instance, no matter by whom it is tolerated, must be evaluated with principle and keenness. While doing this they must persistently implement the stipulations of the Rules of the CPSU concerning the double responsibility of communists with regard to legal violations--their responsibility before both the state and the party. The organizations must make a principled party evaluation of guilty parties as concerns violations of socialist law and the infringement of the rights of citizens even to the extent of removing them from the ranks of the CPSU.

These organizations must strengthen the political leadership of law enforcement organs and their own daily control over the activities of these organs. They must not tolerate interference in inquiries or legal investigation of specific cases.

They must demonstrate constant concern regarding improving the quality, composition and education of cadres of law enforcement organs and increasing the size of the party strata within these organs. They must tirelessly educate the workers of law enforcement organs in the spirit of deep respect for the law, genuine humanity and unmercenary service to the people.

They must improve the battle-readiness of primary party organizations of courts, public prosecutors' institutions, justice institutions, Gosarbitrazh [State Arbitration Commission] and subdivisions of organs of internal affairs. They must enhance their influence on improving the work of the apparatus in obeying Soviet law and fulfilling the directives of the party and government.

The councils of ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Nakhichevansk ASSR and the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have been given the task of raising the sense of responsibility of organs and institutions subordinate to them as concerns unwavering adherence to law. They are to eliminate decisively any manifestation of bureaucratism and red tape and a callous, bureaucratically formal attitude toward people and toward satisfying their legal interests and needs.

Local soviets of people's deputies, which bear the full responsibility for the status of law and order, must increase their effectiveness with regard to their subordinate organs of internal affairs and justice. They must institute the systematic examination of reports and communications from the directors of these organs during sessions, meetings of standing committees and executive committees and in labor collectives and residential areas. Attention must be

given to improving precision and quality in the work of notaries, legal consultants, local subdivisions of Gosavtoinspektskiya, division inspectorates and the patrol-post and passport services of the police. They must strive toward increasing the activity of people's courts, voluntary people's militias, societies for the struggle for sobriety and other social organizations geared towards strengthening socialist law.

Ministries and departments have been assigned the task of increasing the responsibility of directors of enterprises, institutions and organizations with regard to maintaining state and contractual discipline, observing labor laws and laws on the protection of socialist property in the struggle against fraud, the manufacture of poor-quality goods, mismanagement and waste while utilizing in full measure all legal channels and the possibilities for departmental control of cadres and judicial services.

The ASPS [Azerbaijan Trade Union Council] and branch trade union committees must initiate the activity related to protecting the legal interests of workers and to the supervision of and control over observance of labor laws. They must increase the role of technical and legal inspectorates of trade unions as regards improving labor conditions and adherence to the norms of labor laws.

The Academy of Sciences, Minvuz, Minpros, Gosprofobr, Minyust, the public prosecutor's office, the MVD of the Azerbaijan SSR and the republic's Znaniye society should raise their level of interaction on questions related to strengthening ties between judicial science and practice, to improving the system of legal preparation of management cadres and specialists, and to legal education and training of various strata of the population.

The editors of the republic's newspapers and magazines, television and radio will systematically elucidate the work experience of party, soviet, economic and law enforcement organs and social organizations with regard to strengthening socialist law and order and to utilizing legal methods in the restructuring of management operations. The means of mass information have been called upon to develop in people a deep respect for the law, to show convincingly, using specific examples from life, that the unwavering adherence to the requirements of law satisfies the interests of both society as a whole as well as each Soviet individual and is a decisive factor in achieving stable law and order and stability in the rights of citizens.

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CSO: 1830/318

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### TAJIK CP CC BUREAU NOTES POOR STATE OF MATERNAL HEALTH CARE

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA In Russian on 6 February 1987 carries on page 1 a 1200-word TadzhikTA report on the 4 February meeting of the Tajik CP Central Committee Bureau. Among the items on the agenda was a discussion of ways to improve the state of mother and child health care in the republic. It was decided that, beginning in 1988, 45 percent of the planned yearly total of public health institutions to be opened will be in the form of pediatric and maternity treatment and prevention facilities. The republic Gosagroprom was directed to guarantee the construction and opening of 69 outpatient clinics in rural areas between 1987 and 1990. Councils of peoples deputies were instructed to take steps to improve the pediatric treatment and prevention facility infrastructure, among other ways by appropriating ground floors of residential buildings under construction in urban areas for use as pediatric and prenatal clinics. In addition, local soviets were instructed to use part of the 10-percent deduction from capital investments earmarked for social and cultural facilities to increase the construction of medical institutions. The Tajik Trade Unions Council, Gosagroprom, and Ministry of Health were presented with the proposal that annual shows and competitions for the best efforts in construction, infrastructure development, and material-technical base support for public health institutions be held in republic sovkhozes and kolkhozes. Deputy Gosagroprom Chairman A.D. Sukhanov was singled out for criticism at the meeting for his "failure to comprehend the urgency of the shortage of public health facilities in rural villages."

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## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### UKRAINE'S MVD EXAMINES 1986 RESULTS, TASKS

AU231434 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Feb 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Guarding Law and Order and Legality"]

[Text] The board of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, with the participation of internal affairs administration chiefs under the Kiev Gorispolkom and Oblispolkom; chiefs of the Ukrainian and the South-Western internal affairs administrations in transport; and political section chiefs in these administrations, has examined the results of work done in 1986, and the state of discipline and socialist legality in the activity of the internal affairs personnel in light of the requirements of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum and the CPSU Central Committee decision on further strengthening socialist legality, law and order, and on intensifying the protection of citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

In his accountability report, I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian minister of internal affairs, noted that, as a result of the measures taken by party, administrative, and law-enforcing organs in the republic to strengthen legality, law and order, the general number of crimes has dropped. The number of road traffic accidents, fires, and other infringements of the law in the state of alcoholic intoxication has subsided.

At the same time the speaker noted that a radical turn in the struggle against criminality still has not been achieved, and a model public order still has not become commonplace. The rate of offenses continues to be high in the large industrial cities of the Donbass, the Dnepr region, in Odessa, Kharkov, Zaporozhye, Lvov, and other oblasts. Notwithstanding the measures taken, there has been no substantial decrease in delinquency among minors and young people. The prevention of crimes should become an effective instrument to actually influence the situation. The application of criminal, administrative, and prohibitive measures alone does not affect the true roots of drunkenness, moonshining, and profiteering in liquors. A success in the struggle against them, as well as against unearned incomes, parasitism, currency speculation, and drug addiction can only be achieved through assuming a comprehensive attitude toward these ugly phenomena, through the active participation of labor collectives and the public in it. In exposing crimes, it is essential to eliminate

their causes and conditions for their being committed, to more closely cooperate with prosecuting organs, and to call more strictly to account officials responsible for the safety of money and material values entrusted to them. It is necessary to fully ensure the safety of the Soviet people and their dwellings, law and order in public places, in motor transport, and in inflammable facilities.

The speaker called particular attention to the tasks of radically restructuring the style and methods of work performed by internal affairs organs, improving efficiency in their official duties, perfecting the selection, training, and education of cadres, and fostering legality and discipline.

A.I. Borovik, political section chief in the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, delivered a report on further improvements in party political work performed to accomplish the tasks confronting internal affairs organs.

Participating in the board proceedings were A.S. Chumak, Administrative Organs Department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; B.V. Zabolotin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs; and responsible functionaries of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers.

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CSO: 1800/399

## PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

UKRAINE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES MEETING--Interindustrial scientific and technical complexes and engineering centers are new forms for integrating science with production; they have gained good recommendation in the Ukraine. Last year with their assistance 300 progressive technologies were introduced into the national economy. This was reported at a session taking place in Kiev of the General Assembly of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. It was noted in the report by Academician Paton, president of the Republic's Academy of Sciences, and other speeches, that the academy's activity over the period under review passed under the aegis of an active putting into practice of the resolutions of the party's 27th Congress, and the concentration of forces on priority directions in scientific and technical progress. Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, took part in the work of the session. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2004 GMT 2 Mar 87] /9604

UKRAINIAN KOMSOMOL CONGRESS--V. Lyaskalo in Kiev reports that the Ukrainian Komsomol Congress has been preceded by a broad discussion among young people. [Video shows footage from an exhibition of the work of young innovators at the republic's Economic Achievements Exhibition and from an exhibition of the work of young Ukrainian painters. Further shots show the scene outside the congress building as delegates arrive. The video concludes with brief shots of delegates inside the hall of the congress, including pictures of the platform and the audience. A medium closeup is shown of Shcherbitskiy.] "The congress that opened today will sum up the results of this big discussion, define the most acute problems and ways to solve them, and draw up a program of further action aimed at raising the standard of work of all levels of the republic's komsomol organization. Comrade Shcherbitskiy is taking part in the work of the congress." [Summary] [From the "Vremya" newscast] [Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Mar 87] /9604

CSO: 1800/400

## MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

### MOSCOW TV ANNOUNCES PROGRAM CHANGES

LD022213 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1948 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Unscheduled announcement, read by announcer]

[Text] Dear comrades. As you probably noticed, from 4 January this year some changes have occurred in the work of the first programme of the central television. These have been brought about, above all, by the fact that recently many enterprises moved to two- and three-shift work, and some work flexible shifts. Workers and employees in the transport and communication services, workers in medical institutions, teachers and students at higher education establishments and vocational colleges all work according to complex schedules. The working day of workers in some categories ends late in the night.

In order to enable the television viewers to have a sufficiently wide choice of programmes, and to inform them in the best possible way about domestic and foreign policy issues we are starting broadcasts of the first programme at 0700 and closing down after midnight. Thus, following the morning calisthenics you can listen to a short concert, watch cartoons, and get acquainted with the news on Vremya.

In the future, the morning program of news and music will be considerably expanded. Apart from the usual calisthenics, music, public information programs and cartoons, it will include brief bulletins on the most recent news, the press review and sports. The evening program of news and entertainment is also being continued. It will start after 2300 and last well after midnight.

In short, these are the changes in the format of the first all-union program.

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CSO: 1800/390



## MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

### SOVIET PUBLISHERS DISCUSS BOOK PUBLISHING POLICY

PM101140 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 February 1987 carries on page 7 under the rubric "For Whom Are Books Published?" a 2,600-word discussion headed "Editions, Instead of Mirages?" between the paper's correspondent Ye. Kuzmin and leaders of the Artistic Literature Publishing House V. Menshikov, acting director of the publishing house, A. Puzikov, chief editor, and V. Aladyev, deputy director and chief artist. They note that while there has been an increase in the publication of contemporary Soviet literature in terms of the proportion of the total number of titles, in terms of print runs classics still account for 80 percent. The publishers discuss their policy on improving publication of modern works and works of the literature of the peoples of the USSR and on responding to consumer demand. Puzikov concedes that "print runs are not always coordinated with the actual demand from readers," and notes the importance of distribution and marketing policies in this respect. Aladyev discusses the difficulties involved in printing books to a high technical standard, especially those with illustrations. They note the move toward increased autonomy for the publishing houses and express the intention of being "more careful than before in selecting each title for the publishing plan." They complain that printing facilities are holding them back, and express the hope of expanding the "classics and contemporaries" series, which appeals to "the mass reader."

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CSO: 1800/397

## MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

### BRIEFS

CONFERENCE OF NOVOSTI FOUNDING ORGANIZATIONS--The fifth conference of organizations which founded the NOVOSTI press agency has been held in Moscow. Taking part were representatives of the USSR Journalists Union, the USSR Writers Union, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the all-union "Znaniye" society, and the AUCCTU. The conference delegates discussed the report delivered by V.M. Falin, chairman of the NOVOSTI board, and the tasks of the NOVOSTI press agency under present conditions. The conference made changes to the NOVOSTI charter and elected a new council of founders. [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4] /9604

CSO: 1800/397

## HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

### UZBEK PARTY HISTORY INSTITUTE HEAD SCORES 'UNCRITICAL' RESEARCH

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 24 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Uzbek Academy of Sciences academician Kh. Tursunov, director of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Institute of Party History, under the rubric "Implement the Decisions of the 3rd Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee!": "Learn From Life's Lessons"]

[Text] A large detachment of historical scholars is at work within the republic's scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions. They are doing a great deal. But we, the social scientists, are still a long way from the broad application of science to specific practical needs and we are slow in restructuring ourselves in the spirit of the modern demands placed on us by the party.

A study of the present state of party-history studies in Uzbekistan, as well as of the social sciences as a whole, shows that instances of petty research topics, duplicated efforts and superficial approaches continue to occur within our scientific institutions and social science faculties. It must be admitted that, in a number of cases, historians have failed to be critical when attempting to clarify both negative and positive phenomena in social life. Certain scholars, without any critical interpretation, have made use of sources, some of which have contained distorted, often ostentatiously bombastic information. "Studies in the History of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan", "A History of the Uzbek SSR", and certain other publications suffer from this in particular. Social scientists are missing the scientific courage to analyze the reasons for difficulties and contradictions which arise in real life. Many mistakes have been permitted to occur in studies of certain problems of history, literature and philosophy, as, sometimes, have deviations from principles of historical methodology, party spirit, and a class approach to evaluating individual events and historical figures.

The monograph entitled "The Activities of the Communist Parties of the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan under Contemporary Conditions", which was published in 1984, is not entirely objective. Its authors made uncritical use of archive documents and restricted themselves to showing only the positive aspects, the successes, while avoiding the difficulties, the shortcomings and the negative phenomena. The authors failed to resolve the main problem of

research: to reveal and creatively interpret the mechanics of interaction and mutual influence in the development of the economy, science and culture on a regional scale, to discover the general and the particular in the development of inter-nationality processes, and on this basis to formulate theoretical conclusions and practical recommendations. These mistakes are also typical of works produced by workers of CPSU history faculties at the republic's higher educational institutions.

Many shortcomings in the study of history are explained by the inadequate preparation of certain historical scholars in Marxist-Leninist methodology. The quality of our research suffers from this in particular. If we analyze the works on party history that have been published in the past 20 years, then it becomes apparent that many of the authors deviated from the principles of Marxist-Leninist methodology, i.e. historical method, party spirit, the general and the particular.

Frequently, there is also a lack of understanding of Marxist tenets regarding social and economic stages of development. The history of the party is viewed by certain authors in isolation from the dynamically changing system of productive forces and production relationships. The reader is presented not with research into the mechanism of party management of the social processes, but with a recounting of the resolutions of congresses and plenums and of other CPSU and republic party organization documents. Moreover, the author, at best, bases his work only on documents issued at the all-union and republic levels. The role of the oblast, city and rayon party committees and of primary party organizations is either omitted entirely, or is shown in separate, arbitrarily selected examples which, by force of their fragmentation, do not reflect the essence of the phenomena.

Attempting to fit real life into a dogmatic framework, historians have used all means to avoid contradictions: violations of the norms of party life, the disastrous consequences of libertarianism and subjectivism in the solution of national economic problems, and so on. All this has happened because the style of ostentation and show, which has recently become widespread in social and political life, has also had an influence on scholarly research. Works have come out which now, if viewed in the light of the documents from the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the 27th Party Congress, and the 21st Uzbek CP Congress and of subsequent party decisions, would not stand up to criticism. It is we, the social scientists, who are to blame for this.

The practical orientation of our research leaves much to be desired. Economists predict a considerable increase in the population of the republic. However we are going no further than verifying this prediction: what is needed is a complex, scientifically justified program, which would ensure solution of the socio-economic and cultural problems that arise in connection with this. The development of such a program is the scientific duty of the party's economists, philosophers, ethnographers, medical workers, and historians!

V.I. Lenin believed that there is a no approach more bankrupt than pulling out individual facts, than playing games with examples -- in general, choosing examples is not worth doing. The facts must be taken as a whole, in relation to one another, to establish a foundation built of precise and unquestionable



facts and, so that this will be an effective foundation, it is necessary to take "the entire aggregate of facts related to the question under investigation, without a single exception, for otherwise a suspicion will arise, a perfectly natural suspicion, that the facts have been selected or picked out arbitrarily, that in place of the objective connection and mutual dependence of historical phenomena in their entirety, a subjective concoction is being presented as a justification, perhaps, for dirty business." Following the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee it became clear that social scientists who have distanced themselves from life's contradictions have become involuntary accomplices to such subjectivism. But, may the words of Vladimir Ilich ring out as a reproach to us today: "It is disgraceful cowardice -- to be afraid to look reality in the face."

A fundamental shortcoming of the publications of historians lies in their depersonalization of history, in the small amount of attention they pay to the role of the popular masses. Many production leaders and innovators and many party and government figures, who have devoted their lives to the revolution and to the people, remain unknown. A great deal of work needs to be done to create scientifically-based, special monographs which describe the activities of Lenin's comrades-in-arms in Uzbekistan -- of V.V. Kuybyshev, M.V. Frunze, G.K. Ordzhonikidze, Sh.Z. Eliava, Ya.E. Bauman, V.I. Ivanov, and others.

Many deficiencies in party-history research are conditioned by inadequate training of personnel. One reason lies in the absence of competitive selection for acceptance into post-graduate and doctoral candidate programs. Competitions exist only on paper; in practice, it frequently happens that only a person with great "penetrating power" can force his way into our science while, at the same time, the importance of family and local connections has flourished. It is here, particularly, that violation of the principle of social justice can be seen -- a special kind of caste system has started to form within science.

Today, we must have a system for preparing scientific personnel, in which no talent will go wasted. We need to establish specialized schools stressing history, philology, and economics. Talented young people who have completed such schools should be given a preferential right to enter a higher educational institution and, later, a scientific research institute and a post graduate program.

We, the party historians, are faced with the task of critically reexamining problem themes relating to past periods of history and of creating new, original works dedicated particularly to questions which derive from the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. Party historians have the duty to produce thorough-going research works dealing with the basic aspects of the policy of accelerating the country's social and economic development.

The subject of relationships between nationalities is particularly important. We have published a great deal of research concerning it. But the common shortcoming of this research lies in the fact that it does not sufficiently pursue the complicated contradictory processes which exist in the development of nationality relationships at the various stages of building socialism. Study of this problem presents not only scientific interest, but also has

great practical significance for making corrections and for developing new approaches and more effective and efficient forms and methods of educating working people in the principles of internationalism under modern conditions. It will contribute to overcoming localism, national egoism, and national and family egocentrism in the selection and assignment of personnel.

Study of this problem is closely intertwined with questions of unmasking Islamic and other religious ideologies. We are very weak in carrying out scientific-atheistic propaganda and are permitting blunders to occur in this area. It is well known that the mullahs in Central Asia are engaged in modernizing Islamic dogma and that they are spreading Islamic ideas not only in the mosques and bazaars, but are also organizing illegal religious schools. What has happened to our aggressiveness, to our militant materialism?

In recent times, our republic's party organization has stepped up its struggle against the vestiges of religion. But some people perceive this to be a strangulation of national interests and traditions. There are, however, traditions and there are traditions. We are for progressive, popular traditions, but we are against harmful ones, including religious traditions. They must be eradicated sensibly, on a scientific basis.

There is no excuse for the fact that, in our attraction for multi-volume editions, we have forgotten about creating popular historical literature, particularly regarding the progressive significance of uniting our territory to Russia and about the revolutionary liberation movements in Uzbekistan.

Concerning study of the historical past, I would like to note an unhealthy tendency -- certain social scientists are attempting to divide up the cultural and historical heritage of the Central Asian peoples according to national "curiae". The scholars of the distant past belong to all mankind, their works are the property of all peoples. Does it befit us, the scholars of the socialist stage of development, to introduce elements of contradiction into the consciousness of people, to create problems where there are none? In our works, we must do everything possible to unite the peoples of our country, to shed light on traditions of joint struggle against exploitation in the distant past.

Carrying out the policy of restructuring presupposes an ability to think and act in a new way. As was noted at the All-Union Conference of Social Science Faculty Heads, it is necessary to develop new conclusions which reflect the modern dialectic of life. The communists of the Institute of Party History have discussed the need to take account of leading experience and to learn from the lessons of life at an expanded session of its learned council and at an open party meeting. They spelled out specific measures to improve the situation. The plan of scientific research work during the current five-year plan was reviewed and specific corrections were made in keeping with the critical observations voiced by the 3rd Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee. It is planned to publish "Studies in the History of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan", in three volumes, as well as monographs devoted to the strategy of acceleration and to insufficiently studied questions concerning the period of revolution and socialist construction. A thorough-going, four-volume edition of "The Communist Party of Uzbekistan in the Resolutions of the

Congresses and Plenums of its Central Committee" is being prepared. A number of new works are being published on party construction in the modern period, and the work of the specialized and coordinated councils is being improved.

All our activity is directed toward eliminating the mistakes and deficiencies which were justly noted at the 3rd Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee. Without this, there can be no restructuring.

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CSO: 1830/305

## CULTURE

### PUBLISHING PLANS FOR NOVYY MIR REVEALED FOR 1987

PM051529 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 17 Feb 87 p 6

[Interview with NOVYY MIR Chief Editor S.P. Zalygin by unnamed correspondent, under the rubric "Journals": "NOVYY MIR-87"; date and place of interview not specified; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] What will the journal publish in 1987? This question by our correspondent was answered by writer Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin, chief editor of the journal NOVYY MIR.

[Zalygin] The determination of the journal's orientation is not something recent. During the 60 years of its existence NOVYY MIR has developed good traditions which we would not want to break. We perceive our task as being to publish as many of the most interesting and most significant works as we can, primarily from among those being created in our time. We are also making the journal's pages available for the publication of authors whose works have been undeservedly forgotten or held back.

We would like to preserve some of the journal's academic orientation. This is why we appeal primarily to serious readers of serious and realistic prose and poetry.

We have declined the publication of thrillers, and have decided to venture into science fiction only on a very limited scale. We were told that there were fears that we would find no readers. It can already be said that these fears were to a certain extent quelled by the last subscription offer, which brought us an additional 90,000 readers.

We have already published two issues this year. The next three have also taken shape. In the first two issues we brought D. Granin's new novel "The Boffin" [Zubr] to our readers' attention. Those who value M. Bulgakov's works have probably already read the unpublished chapters of his novel "The White Guard" [Belaya Gvardiya], which the writer did not include in the final version, as well as commentaries on the novel which are, in our view, valuable from the viewpoint of literary science.



We will publish for the first time some of A. Tvardovskiy's prose, revealing new aspects of the writer's personality. Issue No 3 will offer the reader A. Adamovich's novel "The Last Pastoral" [Poslednyaya Pastoral]. Upcoming issues will contain V. Tendryakov's latest novel "Tilting at Windmills" [Pkusheniye na Mirazhi], a new novella by A. Bitov, M. Shatrov's historical documentary play "Peace or War" [Mir ili Voyna], and K. Chukovskiy's materials on A. Akhmatova.

Readers will become familiar with a new name in poetry. We have been given manuscripts by scientist D. Andreyev, son of the writer L. Andreyev, who wrote wonderful poems but did not publish a single line while he was alive. We have decided to do this now.

The work of our journal's criticism section is being restructured. It is necessary to emphasize that we are not setting ourselves the task of responding promptly to every event, trend, or controversial work appearing in our literature. This does not mean that we will avoid many topical problems. We would like our literary criticism articles not to be just polemical rejoinders to be forgotten the next day, but to analyze in depth the contemporary literary process and to have their own literary importance. We hope that the first step in this direction will be taken by the publication of Andrey Nuykin's article "New God-seeking and Old Dogmas."

By way of contrast, the task of reacting flexibly to events and problems of the present has been assigned to the current affairs section, on which we place great hopes. N. Shmelev has prepared an article entitled "What Next?" which deals with the most important questions of the state's economic development.

This year our whole country will celebrate Great October's 70th anniversary, and we are already thinking about our journal's issue No 11, in whose preparation we will be helped by the editorial office of the journal KOMMUNIST.

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CSO: 1800/390

## CULTURE

### WRITER AYTMATOV VIEWS CURRENT SOVIET MORALITY

PM201531 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 87 First Edition pp 3, 6

[Interview with Chingiz Aytmatov by PRAVDA correspondents Yu. Razgulyayev and V. Khatuntsev, datelined Frunze-Moscow and published under the rubric "Our Moral Values": "Chingiz Aytmatov: 'I Believe in Man.'"--no date of interview given; first paragraph is a PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] What does it mean to live by one's conscience? What should be one's civic stance under the conditions of democratization and openness, and what meaning attaches today to the terms social justice, prestige, and success in life? These and other questions, often encountered also in PRAVDA readers' letters, are the topic of conversation under the rubric "Our Moral Values." Today's interviewee is Chingiz Aytmatov.

[Correspondent] Time and morals, conscience and vanity, good and evil, truth and lies.... There has been no period throughout the recorded past when people have not pondered these eternal terms. Today, halfway through the 80's, we are in a kind of force field of great moral tension, where much of what is true and false must be sharply divided and one element separated from another--some to the plus side, others to the minus side. Tell us, Chingiz Torekulovich, what, in your opinion, has caused the urgency attached today to the problems of morality, social justice, and spirituality?

[Aytmatov] The changes which are now taking place in our society. I think that we would have reached this point of urgency sooner or later. Each generation lives through a kind of catharsis--a self-purification. After all, living people accumulate their own experience of life; explaining life has never been easy, and overcoming mistakes has been even more difficult. So, our society is now at such a historical turning point. Moreover, all spheres of life are geared for changes, restructuring is underway along the entire front, from the economy to culture. Even though we still retain the memory of various reforms and "alterations" of the past, they were not accompanied by profound moral and ethical quest among the broad strata of the population and were not aimed so directly at the personality of each individual. Now everything seems to be different. But what has actually happened?

Experience, the everyday experience of the living generation, has proved that moral culture and spiritual education are slow to change. However, while previously this process was somehow unnoticeable against the background of immense economic tasks, with the passage of time it started having an effect on all aspects of life, including the economic aspect. Today's problems show unambiguously what kind of an effect that was. The people's moral culture is the most valuable capital. If it is lacking, no one should expect high standards of awareness.

The world has become more dynamic: Here we have psychological stress, floods of all sorts of information, the threat of a thermonuclear conflagration--all this must be taken into account, all this has an effect on man and mankind. As technology developed, the technocratic approach started gaining dominance in life and we noticed a shortage of the humanitarian way of thinking; after all, humanity in matters great and small depends on the extent to which people value the ideas of community, social equality, truth, sincerity, and good. We must not compromise the moral principles which are typical of our social system as an example of the achievement of mankind's ideals. The fundamental ones among these principles are: conscientious labor for the benefit of society, humane relations and mutual respect among people, honesty and truthfulness, and implacability toward injustice. Actually, these are the components of conscience, and conscience in turn is the driving force of civic-mindedness.

I would like to say in this context that, in my view, the term "morality" does not lend itself to any innovations, let alone to any primitive politicization. Morality is the primordial and supreme law of existence for all societies, all classes, and all people. Each generation and each individual perceives it as an immutable and sacred behest from its forebears. It is important for man and for society as a whole to rigorously adhere to these norms always--in matters great and small.

The demands as regards moral order, sincerity, principle, and strict correspondence between word and deed are particularly great now, under the conditions of restructuring and reviewing many aspects of our life. Unfortunately, it somehow happened in our country in the last few years that some people proved to have absolutely no inner moral brakes, that they had totally lost their conscience. And yet, man's real nature is manifested when he lives by his conscience, when his actions are motivated not by someone else but by his own conscience, by the inner, main, and infallible judge. It may not be always easy to live and act by one's conscience, but it is the nobility of conscience that animates society's life with ideas and dreams and makes it possible to maintain the eternal commandments of morality in a state of model purity. It is greatly to be regretted, however, that deviations from the model, and highly serious ones at that, are also inevitable. Surely there are grounds for complex deliberations, since we are now talking bluntly about conscience and duplicity, about downright fraud in the economy, in management, and in law enforcement institutions.

[Correspondent] In their letters, PRAVDA readers raise a legitimate question: Why is it that previously we all saw, we understood, but we kept silent?

[Aytmatov] The way you said "we" made it sound like "you," the writers?....

[Correspondent] No, "we" really meant--we....

[Aytmatov] Fair enough, let's carry on the conversation from this angle....

There is no peaceful confrontation between good and evil: They are in a state of permanent struggle and hostility. At the level of daily life this confrontation is often presented in terms of conventional and commonplace compromises: Thieves are mildly described as pilferers, and down-right fools as people who are incompetent in this or that. Many people find compromises suitable: People whose conscience is not clear, as well as people who are honest but only want a quiet life. Half-truths, halfway measures, and all sorts of partial punishments are deemed "useful."

Morality is at times slotted into convenient coexistence with vices, in other words the ceiling of morally permissible sins is lowered. It is thus true that things were seen and understood, but by no means everyone struggled against them. Let me say this: As life gets better, many people lose their implacability toward shortcomings; I would say that we lose our revolutionary-mindedness.

But don't let us equivocate: Compromise as a "method of existence" is still with us to a large extent. There is much that we have not understood in the recent past, so we will not learn any lessons for the future unless this time we fully grasp why it is that we do not always exercise self-mastery. Some people understand in their minds that something should not be done but do it nevertheless, trying not to hear the voice of their consciences and trying to deceive themselves. And this is more fatal than anything else--the result is a disintegration of personality, and a person can ruin his entire life. It is unfortunate that we do not always remember this.

And another point: On what basis is power, be it extensive or limited, placed in the hands of people who are morally not entitled to it? What qualities are considered, as a rule, when promoting officials? Businesslike, efficient, exacting, morally firm--yes. But what is his moral creed, does he comply with the lofty spiritual mood in our society, is he honest and fair? Unfortunately, these qualities of an individual are often considered secondary as regards the management machinery. Consequently, we hear from various places reports of official crimes--corruption, bribery, overreporting, protectionism, mutual protection. A shortage of conscience can lead to the most sophisticated antisocial actions.

And what happens if such forces of public influence as publicity, criticism, monitoring, and inevitability of punishment are curtailed? The result is quite bad. No, each and every one of us, including us writers, must now get down energetically to improving the entire atmosphere of our life. And this improvement must pervade the specific actions and deeds of each one of us. Man's lofty morality is always directly dependent on his



self-discipline and his live of work. It is also important to perceive that the fresh wind has already thoroughly blown away the cobwebs from many of our dark corners.

[Correspondent] Of course, restructuring is first and foremost needed in ideological and educational work, as the party documents state. But here we have a problem: Many traditional forms and methods of ideological and moral education no longer correspond with modern demands. To put it briefly, we still do not always reach people's minds. Why is this?

[Aytmatov] Educating people is a matter of gradual work. A personality must be shaped in the first place! And this must be done in terms of some "statistical average inhabitant." In principle, any person can acquire various beliefs, but this is done over a period of years rather than all at once, in other words through a person's practical experience and the social psychology of his environment. But the result of such internal work does not always work to the advantage of our world philosophy. As a rule, deviations from moral norms take the form of deeds and misdeeds. But this is already in the realm of actions. Let us look a little deeper: Perhaps the most frightening aspect consists of ideological duplicity, hypocrisy, and acquisition of social benefits and public station at the expense of moral time-serving.

Why is it that, while living under identical conditions, some people grow us virtuous while others are capable of doing evil? I don't intend to delve into psychology, but it is clear that, in matters of ideological and moral education, we should long ago have given up general poster slogans, uniformity, and theorizing which is detached from practice and the present. It is only too often that sound initiatives swiftly become formal in our country. And this in turn results in the emergence of functionaries who transform a living idea into dead dogma.

True enough, it must be said that dogmatism follows closely on any system and any idea. No idea can be guaranteed not to succumb to dogmatization. And what hides behind dogma? Formalism, which engenders unthinking bureaucracy and dull hectoring. But people's awareness, especially their awareness today, rejects this type of propaganda style and methods. Now we are increasingly seeking different approaches to the human soul, and the main point here is that people should know the truth, and that sincerity and honesty--even though they do not always come easy--should predominate in the information available to society.

[Correspondent] I recall that some 5 years ago we spoke with you about the passion some of our young people have for things foreign, for musical trends that are fashionable in the West....

[Aytmatov] Do you mean that today the number of these young people has diminished, or that this passion of theirs has cooled down? This is easy to explain: We are not inhabiting this world on our own. Here we are faced with another problem. For a long time we leaned toward our socialist advantages, trying to extol the achievements both when merited

and sometimes ahead of time. This became a habit for more than just one generation. But the world is no longer what it used to be, which means that there must be a more flexible and a more refined understanding of the interconnection and interdependence of the civilizations which confront one another in it. After all, there are things we can learn from the West on the production and technical level, and especially in the services sphere. It would be important for us, in the spirit of the time and of our tasks, to find some sort of dynamic equivalent to the competition engendered by the "Western toys" which are so much desired by some of our young people.

[Correspondent] Perhaps recently there have been fewer fears that attitudes which are "alien" to us could infiltrate among young people in the wake of blue jeans and rock music. But it is probably worth remembering that ideological struggle has been, still is, and will remain with us. A certain category of people express doubts: Are we not damaging ourselves by speaking so openly about shortcomings? And especially as regards problems involving young people?

[Aytmatov] Vladimir Ilich Lenin described publicity figuratively as a wound-healing sword. And this is so. The lessons of the past are a means for cleansing the present of mistakes and for more clearly perceiving in it, in our present, the shoots and signs of our future. Recently we have been speaking frankly about everything. We are thus helping young people to see the path they must follow. But every new generation has its own tasks and its own understanding of affinity with the people and their history. Why should one invariably feel annoyed whenever young people want to dig out the truth for themselves, to demolish the stereotypes, and to express their attitude to life? This is a prerogative of their age, the first social outpouring of their soul. And with our attempts to impose uniformity on all young people and bring them up according to stereotypes, we only nurture in our children, in the next generation, an exemplary obedience which at times turns into various violations. As for the special susceptibility of young people to all kinds of influences from abroad, here we must also show greater flexibility. At the same time, we need solid barriers against obviously dangerous and obviously evil things. Especially the intolerable evil of drug addiction!

I have already said that all vices originating in the West must be a warning and a lesson for us. I, for example, resolutely condemn the unemployment which causes suffering to so many people in the West. It does not exist in our country, everyone seems to be employed. But what do we see: A genuine worker and a loafer getting on with one another in the same shop, coexisting at the same level, living in identical apartments.... No, I cannot accept that, either. Is this a manifestation of equality and humanity under socialism? And how much reliance can one place on conscience, on reeducation.... The time has probably come to reward people really according to their labor and their ability in the sphere of distribution of benefits and to put an end to leveling.

[Correspondent] Chingiz Torekulovich, our reader V. Nesterovich (from Minsk) writes that he has imprinted in his mind the image of your hero Boston, who not only worked according to his conscience but also made everyone under him work in the same fashion. Many of those he had schooled he also helped on in life, teaching them to work and thus to value their working life. Boston frankly disliked and did not understand those who did not pursue this goal. He considered such people useless. He was reserved and unfriendly toward them. He knew that this made many people abuse him behind his back, calling him a miser and a kulak and regretting that Boston had been born too late for his bones to rot in the Siberian snows. As a rule, Boston did not respond to any abuse because he never doubted that truth was on his side, that there could be no other way, that otherwise the world would turn upside down. He was as firmly convinced of this as he was of the fact that the sun rises in the east.

But why is it, our reader asks, that Boston, Yedigey from Buran, and numerous heroes altogether have to uphold the sacred right of integrity?

[Aytmatov] Unfortunately, qualities like industry, scrupulousness, probity, and conscientiousness--which have been valued in man from time immemorial--are still far from being given priority in the actual upbringing and shaping of the individual. People are almost convinced that success in life can only be achieved through high-handedness, craftiness, and acquisition of benefits from some "cushy job" somewhere in the trade network or the services sphere or at the level of service abroad. This distorts the ideas of social justice and supplants the criteria of man's genuine worth. Even though material prosperity, in theory, should not prevent a person from accumulating spiritual riches. But it must also be said that the bearers of the consumerist mentality, with their long-established petit-bourgeois militancy, are not averse to squeezing those who pursue moral ideals and seek spiritual perfection. And at times this antagonism takes acute forms.

[Correspondent] How is it to be countered? Do you recall how, some 25 years ago, you got into difficulties with your public statement "You Are to Blame, Fellow-countrymen!" in defense of the trampled dignity of a woman from the rural settlement of Sheker. How do you perceive the civic stance today?

[Aytmatov] The words speak for themselves--civic, and a stance indeed, because they convey the meaning of assertiveness and principle, and today primarily active assistance in restructuring. A most important attribute of human nature is the desire to declare itself as an individual. If there is no opportunity to do so, or if any desire to be active comes across arrant formalism, the result is disenchantment, and everything that is truly individual gets hidden behind the faceless mask of just an average performer of orders. And what we need today are individuals!

Yes, man is constantly faced with choices. Will he sit on the fence, will he bide his time, or will he join in the fight for justice--everything depends on how convinced he is that he is right, on his character, on

his sympathy with others. Life gives everyone an opportunity, a bridgehead to uphold his beliefs, and there is a particular need for this under present conditions--to assist moral cleansing, to affirm moral principles, and to learn the ways of free competition [sopernichestvo] between opinions and views, the ways of polemics. After all, many negative phenomena can and must be perceived at their embryonic stage, thus preventing their proliferation and localizing them.

Today's orientation toward the democratization of our life and of the mutual relations between man and society is a pressing and very important question of our development. But I do think that this process should not be either oversimplified or hurried on under any circumstances. It has already been said--and not by me--that we must learn to live under conditions of democracy and openness. Interests must converge, they must be mutual, and then any honest person will understand that his stance is important to the cause, that he is not just a nut or a bolt inside some machine but indeed a fully-fledged citizen of a free and great state.

But social institutions must also be restructured, they must turn toward people, toward their requirements and needs. Much depends here on the leaders, on how they themselves perceive the tasks of the time.

[Correspondent] Reading through the materials of the 18th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress held a year ago, one cannot fail to note the procedure for cadre promotion which prevailed in the republic earlier. Many officials were selected on the basis of personal loyalty, kinship, and local ties, cadre questions were decided by individuals, toadyism and intrigues were encouraged.... How, in your opinion, are we to prevent positions of power being occupied by people who are definitely ungifted and mediocre, who have proved themselves not by their actions but by means of obsequiousness and servility toward their bosses?

[Aytmatov] No one is disputing the fact that people promoted to leadership positions must be intelligent, gifted with a leader's talents, and capable of placing the interests of the cause above their personal interests. The discipline of subordination and execution is, of course, necessary. But this does not mean blind obedience. On the contrary, a leader's most valuable qualities should be self-reliance, independence of any ties and patronage, and the ability to uphold his opinions and take risks. These are the people who must be sought out, educated, and promoted. And this process must contain more publicity and more consultation with the people.

It is gratifying that now we encounter more and more often newspaper articles describing the promotion of leaders by the labor collectives themselves. There are gratifying reports about competitions to fill the positions of team leader or shop foreman. We cannot have enough of them! These democratic forms must permeate the entire social structure, from top to bottom. Not like instances when a newolkhoz chairman is brought from the rayon center to the village: "Vote for him!" Who is he, what is he like, can he work with people? No one knows.



Speaking on a wider scale, we probably ought to admit frankly that we still have not finally eradicated the well-known influence of the personality cult, which has grown deep roots within our very selves. In our work style. In our mutual relations.

The recent past has shown that a compromising attitude to flaws in the education and style of leadership, to the regeneration of the personality cult produces nothing but recurrences of the revival of old, worthless displays. Now we have finally gotten rid of at least the mandatory lists of splendid titles when presenting a leader to society. This is how it used to be: Before the man appeared in front of people, he was preceded by a long train of the offices he held, his titles, ranks, and awards. Now we are at least not worried about whom to extol and how, to what extent to extol him, and with what phrase to begin lauding him. Honestly speaking, though, even here not everything is yet in order.

To put it briefly, remnants of the personality cult constitute one of our "difficult problems," and, even though we pretend that they do not exist, they really do and they make themselves felt from time to time. This was manifested particularly strongly in works of literature and art in the 70's and early 80's.

[Correspondent] Speaking of democratization, we cannot ignore those who expect that restructuring will, one way or another, dwindle down to nothing and--or so they claim--life itself will force us to resort to the proven, arbitrary style and methods both in the economy and in social relations. You have experienced much in life, you have pondered a lot.... What could you say about this?

[Aytmatov] Those who long for the past are largely to blame for the acute problems we are facing today. But if you say this to their faces, they gasp: What do you mean, we were at the head, we achieved!... It appears to them that they were at the head. But until the economy is raised to a new level, they should not claim too much credit.

The time in which we are fated to live is complex, it is overshadowed, let me repeat, primarily by the threat of a nuclear apocalypse, but, both on a universal scale and within the framework of our internal problems and quests, all hopes rest on man, his reason and soul, and his humanistic being. Yes, our society is living through a crucial revolutionary period, the scalpel of openness threatens many sore parts, and problems with moral connotations bear the stamp of prolonged silence about them and at times even of encouragement of various negative phenomena. So a fundamental restructuring is demanded in ideology.

There is, however, no need for any of the illusory optimism whereby some people are already striving to present the initial steps as major strides. But it would also be a mistake to look pessimistically at reality. I believe that man's spiritual strength, our enormous and complex experience in overcoming difficulties, and the people's moral sense and self-awareness will impart a new meaning to the time and the country's life. We must enter the 21st century as a renewed and dynamic society whose main asset and hope is Man! Man with a lofty morality!

## CULTURE

### LESSONS OF MOVIE ABOUT YOUNG VIGILANTE DISCUSSED

PM021139 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by M. Murzina under the rubric "Cinema": "About Children For Adults. Notes on the Movie 'Plumbum, or Dangerous Game'"]

[Text] It might seem strange and complex, this movie (director V. Abdrashitov, screenplay by A. Mindadze, cameraman G. Rerberg). However, "strange" is most frequently just a synonym for unusual and new. Its complexity lies in the fact that it requires the viewer to use his mind and heart instead of the habit of easily accepting what does not trouble or affect him. "Plumbum..." does indeed have an effect and "abrades the soul."

"Plumbum" (lead) is the school nickname of Ruslan Chutko, a 15-year-old boy (played by Anton Androsov). He is the chief hero and the chief enigma of the movie. On the face of it, the boy is from a successful family and is a good student ("we're in line for a medal!"). Plumbum's inner world is clear: Doubts, illusions, pain, a troubled mind--these are all unknown to him. He has a purpose in life (unlike many of his own age)--to fight evil. Not abstract evil but specific evil. And not in words but in action. He has decided to "clear out the garbage" from his home city. But until he is accepted into a voluntary detachment of militia helpers, he acts alone, recklessly and fearlessly. He observes and tails people. He pursues and blackmails. He might even make friends, if necessary, and then, to put it simply, "squeal" on them. And then vagrants, Plumbum's erstwhile buddies for whom he would fetch beer, are being bundled into militia vehicles. And then, on a "signal" from him, someone who has gotten into trouble finds himself behind bars. And then, by chance, he detains his own father among poachers...

Such a "bad good boy." The new hero is a problem character. A social phenomenon. It is in this figure that the problems raised by the picture are concentrated. The boy is active, bold, purposeful--what else? All around there are so many complaints about the passivity, infantilism, and "acquisitiveness" of the rising generation, and suddenly here is a hero with an impressive range of social virtues! But imagine that this is your son, brother, or friend or, say, a future guardian of law and order, and you will certainly not like it. This boy "with principles" is essentially an antihero. How strangely and dangerously, how unexpectedly

recognizably the times--the past and the present--are perceived in his consciousness and how many bitter and painful questions and associations he gives rise to! And what an alarming warning he sounds today... The right idea but dubious means, to put it mildly. The right words--but uncommon mental deafness and moral inarticulateness. Unconditional appropriation of the right to sit in judgment over other people. Violence and provocation as the norm in the struggle against evil. And therefore Plumbum's social activeness provokes not just hostility but fear. It would seem impossible to be mistaken here: The makers of the picture give us a clear-cut system of moral guidelines in it.

...Discussion of the picture. A viewer, a coeval of Plumbum, with bright eyes: "I would like to be like him. I too believe that the end is the chief thing, and the means are not that important." A young woman, apparently a pedagogue: "A modern film, it is about the struggle against unearned income and crime, how much it is possible to be kind, to suffer and keep silent!" Of course, viewers condemned the boy, feared him, and were perplexed: "We do not have such children, he is untypical!" But some people still saw him as a model for imitation, taking the antihero as a real hero. Does this mean there is something abnormal not just in Plumbum's character?

Today, when social justice is actively being asserted and when everything iniquitous must be overcome and eradicated, this picture represents a serious attempt to become familiar with a far from secondary part of our uneasy social experience. Keenly perceiving a seemingly almost imperceptible trend, it warns: A stand in the struggle against evil which gives rise to new evil is terrible. The path to a lofty goal is iniquitous if it is not illumined by goodness and love, humanism and purity, and, finally, reason.

Even with the most correct and necessary principles, a situation fraught with the danger of Plumbum's appearing could take shape in society. In an atmosphere of unspirituality and indifference the ideas of struggle and cleansing, if not backed up by a moral reserve (for example, at the level of elementary norms of humanity, truisms, and childish notions of "what is good and what is bad"), can assume very distorted forms.

Is it a coincidence, for example, that today it is by no means "difficult" but quite "positive" boys and girls, excellent pupils and activists, who beat up their own classmates in free time out of lessons and Komsomol meetings? Or who join up in groups and mete out lynch law to those whom they consider criminals, "cleaning up" their street, settlement, or city. Blindly and without looking back, in the name of a primitively understood lofty aim. And essentially mocking it, without themselves being aware of this. No, our Plumbum is not alone, he has "conferees..."

It has to be remembered that the falsehood, hypocrisy, formalism, and immorality of the "adult world" lead to profound distortions in young, not yet strengthened souls.

It is a very restrained movie, rigidly and logically structured, and almost ascetic in terms of means of expression. But, despite the conciseness of its form, it is surprisingly full of content and profound in its treatment of social problems.

Where does he come from, this boy? A half-child, in whom there is almost nothing childlike: It is not for nothing that he says he is "40 years old." Indeed, he has taken on a task that not every adult is capable of, he knows all "about life," and he has mastered all truths and all slogans to perfection. But he has not yet begun his own life, having learned to hate before loving. To suspect before trusting. To chastise before feeling pity. But do not be in a hurry to judge our "hero." He is just the effect, behind which you must know how to see the causes. "Dangerous game..." This is not just a reference to the game that Plumbum plays as a meter-out of justice. It is, above all, a reference to the "games" that adults play with him today. Understanding this means giving one more answer to the question of where the boy gets his cruel, unchildish, repellent features from, to the question of why the movie about Plumbum has been made today.

In the picture the boy exists in a very specific milieu in life, among specific people. But we are given certain signs and symbols of that milieu, models of human relationships. Therefore, from the viewpoint of direct correspondences to life and daily routine, much in the movie might seem unreal and even implausible. Here there is no usual flow of life or everyday details. We are offered a different principle of selecting and showing material of reality. It is a movie-image. An image of a cold, uncomfortable, formalized little world. Heartless and unspiritual. Every detail, every frame "works" for the overall idea and provides "information for thought."

The city... Buildings that oppress with their huge bulk. Giant stone statues. A standard school. Tastelessly pompous interiors of a restaurant and the House of Culture. Dim, dilapidated basements where drunken vagrants hide and where the public order maintenance center is also housed.

The family... Three people in the shot. Father and mother—happy, cultured (but hear what Ruslan himself says about them: "They do not exist, but they do exist because they must exist"). Evening teatime: eyes on the television set, words mechanical and habitual, albeit with a smile. All is there, all is good, all is as it must be: photo-wallpaper (fashion, comfort), skating (sport, leisure), the three of them singing Okudzhava to a guitar (spirituality). The rules of the game are observed... The culmination is a scene where the son interrogates the father. Now something must happen! How guardedly, almost with fear, the father peers into the boy's face: "Perhaps you simply like power?" The reply comes in fragmentary words, according to protocol: First name? Surname? Year of birth? That is all. It is late. And there will just be a request to the boy—not a word to mother. The rules of the game must be observed.



The most dangerous game is that of "detective." Let us recall that it also has another name: "I mete out justice." At first the boy is not accepted into the game. But certainly not out of concern for the young soul. The uncle-detectives cannot fail to see the sincerity of his motives, nor can they fail to be slightly afraid of his zeal, and... they choose the worst way to use it--"in the sphere of information." As a "decoy duck," some kind of depersonalized being. And Plumbum, with their help confirmed in that right to control people's destinies, also starts "playing" with others, now dictating the rules of the game himself. Having accepted them, Sonya, a bright, pure girl in love with him, dies in the end...

The adults "play"--the children pay.

In the end, this movie is about adults and for adults. It is about moral bankruptcy, about the poverty of the "moral fund" of the adults' world that surrounds the boy. About its staggering indifference. The authors of the movie do not make a statement or judgment. They urge you to be conscious of your responsibility for those who have come into this world thanks to you and after you, and into the world as you have made it. That is why this rather terrifying boy needs understanding. And pity. This intonation is felt very plainly in the picture. He is, essentially, dreadfully alone. People have robbed him, done him out of his fair share of love, compassion, sincerity, and warmth.

The movie reminds us how acute the "need for human feeling" is today. Morality and humanity are being elevated to the rank of the most important social categories. There is no goodness in the movie, but it awakens activeness in the soul and the desire for good. It teaches most subtle and dramatic dialectics of good and evil, right and wrong, truth and delusion. It reminds us of the past. It makes us anxious about the future.

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## CULTURE

### WRITER QUESTIONS LEGALITY OF ART SALE IN MARKET SQUARE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 6 Dec 86 p 8

[Article by I. Dudinskiy: "Sundays in Bittsa: Notes of an Interested Viewer"; first paragraph in boldface]

[Text] Quite a few photo features and favorable articles have appeared about the festival in the capital's Bittsa Woods every Sunday (Novyye Cheremushki old-timers remember it as Zyuzinskiy Woods). Literally all of Moscow now knows about "artists' alley", a spontaneously-organized club, a "phenomenon of social activeness." A new capital "sight" has appeared before our very eyes on initiative "from below," a public attraction, a leisure activity for thousands of people....

The atmosphere is as natural as possible. It's like plunging into a festival, a trade fair or a pageant. Discussion abounds. Musicians and folk groups are performing. Poems are being read. You might run into anybody: actors, writers, scientists. Clearly, they are more than weekend curiosity-seekers. You catch yourself thinking: all this should be closer to the city center. There's the Hermitage, the Tverskoy Boulevard theater strip....

What a clever idea! You may like it or not, but Bittsa is now one of the "crossroads" of Moscow cultural life. The response to what is being offered for sale varies wildly (incidentally, these short Sunday hours are for many more than a chance to buy; they are also valuable for meeting others). The appraisals of it range from "very professional" to "nothing worth looking at." I should say both are right. But it is not a question of judgement. Bittsa is, after all, foremost a spontaneous response to a situation which has evolved in the artist-to-viewer chain, in the system of trade in works of pictorial art. Is it really any secret that Artists' Fund salons, with their "extortionate" prices and often insipid assortment, are not the capital's "trade points" visited most often?

Probably the best part about Bittsa is the prices, and the ability to buy, as they say, first-hand, from the artists themselves. And, while you're at it, to talk and argue about art.

What is for sale? Vivid landscapes, pointedly decorative flowers, still lifes, figurative compositions suitable for the most refined interior, multicolored partitions "for the kitchen," painted clay penny-whistles.

There are many "snapshot painters" who will do a portrait of you in 15 minutes. Some are rather far from being accomplished artists, but then again, they don't claim to be.... Of course, one sees works that are obviously amateurish, hopeless and crude. But this is art in the park! Take a look around: are people buying it?

"Kitschmongers Lane," where people spread out their stuff, using string to hang up mermaids, swans and kittens. And the asking price is strictly for the tourists. But if they show up a couple of times and don't make a dime, if nobody wants it, if there are no customers, if there is no interest, then one doesn't see them there anymore.

Two in the afternoon, "rush hour" at the fair. Already there's no parking on the road the woods are on. You can't see the "goods" for the crowd. But order and discipline are "satisfactory." And nobody is selling under the table anything that doesn't have to do with artistic creativity.

Unfortunately, there are thus far no legal precedents for operating such a bazaar, for legitimating it, so to speak. Its existence therefore still depends on someone's good or ill will. The artists are hitching the future of such fairs to the recently adopted "Law on Individual Labor Activity," but there are still many questions. Today, one can sell a wax candle "fashioned after" Maillol, an amusing ostrich or crocodile puppet, or a rabbit for the new year. No doubt about it: Point 6 of Article 12 of the law states that manufacturing toys and souvenirs is among the activities permitted within the realm of handicrafts. The law is also clear about traditional folk art. But what about canvas paintings, drawings and engravings? Even if they are called "decorative-applied art items" (Article 20), they must be "marketed with the consent of the appropriate arts council." Given the spontaneity of Bittsa, setting up such a "council" is, quite understandably, impossible for all practical purposes. One can but hope that the local soviets, which are given very broad powers to apply the law creatively, will find an optimum resolution before next May. Moscow is not the only place waiting for that resolution. Clubs like the Bittsa exist in several cities. Let's hear what the lawyers and the finance agency workers think.

What about an organization like the Art Fund? It will be interesting to see what lessons will be drawn by its leadership from the appearance of a "competing organization."

For the time being, though.... For the time being, the search for a way out of this situation has generated only new questions. The culture department of the Sevastopol Rayon ispolkom has prepared a document it calls a draft charter for the "Bittsa" artists' society. It consists of a verbose preamble with about 40 points and subpoints concerning the rights and duties of the members of the proposed society. It is essentially (and ispolkom workers confirmed this in personal conversations with me) a statement that the site of the market will be surrounded by a tall fence, with admission granted only to licensed sellers and to customers paying a 30-kopeck fee. And licenses would be issued to those contributing 10 rubles a month to the society's treasury. What for? To pay for the couple of administrators anticipated in the proposed

charter. Bittsa habitues make fun of this draft charter. But I have talked personally with some who want those posts, and they're ready to "implement" it.

"And what if someone doesn't want to give up a ten-spot to pay your salary, but just takes his paintings and displays them outside the fence?" I asked.

"We'll call the cops and drive them off," was the immediate response.

"And it'll start all over again?"

But they had their minds made up. And how! They were star-struck by the idea of a post "in the arts," with the power to make decisions and give orders.

There are quite a few questions now about creating cost-accounting creative organizations. The effort by artists at very different levels to unite to solve common problems is natural. Life will probably suggest new and different forms of contact between artist and viewer. The main thing is not to be frightened by them, but to seek creative solutions.

Let's turn to the experience of similar enterprises in Moscow, such as the Bird Market, also a Sunday amateurs' club. Everyone can go there, and it's free. But if you want to sell something, you pay for a spot and stay there until closing. Among these "fowl fans," there's no need to have people to verify the "presence of membership certificates."

Local agencies might consider setting up Sunday art fairs in the capital center. If, that is, there are buildings that could accommodate such a many-colored art and its creators--the former Roman Catholic church on Malaya Gruzinskaya, for example. Incidentally, it is right opposite the Moscow City Cultural Workers' Trade Union Committee building. It's now a warehouse, but the artists are proposing converting this architectural monument into a real cultural center, one which could also eventually be both an exhibit hall and a commercial salon where works of art could be sold at reasonable prices. And the lot it's on could be an "art square" and permanent festival.

There's no need for nervousness, no rush to work it all out, as one TV commentator would like. After all, art is equally intolerant of fawning praise and meddlesome supervision. It is both bread and air, and it is something we need every hour of every day, something that must always be before us. To do this, however, it needs to be accessible, and accessible in the literal sense of the word as well.

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CSO: 1800/24b



## CULTURE

### SHOW FOR YOUNG ARTISTS SEEN AS FAILURE

#### Art Critic on '17th' Exhibit in Kuznetskiy

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by M. Sokolov, candidate of art criticism: "Vicissitudes of the '17th'"; first paragraph is MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The regular exhibits of works by young Moscow artists on Kuznetskiy Bridge have become a good tradition. The latest, the 17th, is here. It is unusual in every respect, pointedly experimental and conceived by its planners as a response to the taut, dynamic rhythm of our day. And it has captured the viewers' attention.

While still on the street, one is struck by the 1920's-style open-ended designs which seem to blur the dividing line between inside and outside. The display rooms are often cleverly arranged, overcoming the usual boring exhibit stereotypes. The photographs and texts introduce the viewing public to a study in contemporary artistic life, to the history of the young people's exhibits and to the stories of the participants themselves. The organizers and designers of the exhibit (I. Lubennikov and A. Skokan) worked hard and enthusiastically, doing their utmost to enliven the dialog between the works and the viewers as much as possible. The right to experiment has been stated loudly, energetically and fervidly.

All the "stage effects" and attempts to create a vivid sense of participation in creative labor are intriguing, of course. But the experiments are not being conducted for their own sake. This is not just for fun, but is a planned path to a specific goal. "In order for an experiment to succeed," Albert Einstein said, "one must know what one wants to find."

The "17th" program itself would seem to state the goal clearly: "to show the diversity of the directions of modern young people's art." But the deeper one gets into the exhibition, the more doubts and misgivings are raised about its understanding of this goal. The easel paintings are especially alarming on this level, which is natural, inasmuch as it is pointedly in a central, crossroads location.

The variegated, multifaceted styles on display here assume, perhaps with full justification, a diversity of critical approaches. But a considerable number of the pictorial works displayed must be judged to be inconsequential, by any criterion we select.

Fashion? We are supposedly being offered something super-contemporary, something claiming to be a stylistic benchmark for our times. But the timid imitations of pop-art, photorealism and other "isms" of Western modern art point towards very old patterns, from a decade and a half to two decades ago.

Quality? But so much here is raw, hastily-done, slovenly painting in any stylistic terms, with damp, flaccid patches instead of sonorous strokes, infantile scrawls masquerading as "primitive," instead of competent composition. Nearly all the participants, we are told, are confidently mastering the foundations of artistic literacy, that everything we see is an "embellishment." But nonetheless, doubts often creep in about whether such a solid foundation has in fact been laid, or about whether, in "embellishing," some of the young artists are actually very cleverly covering up their utmost ignorance.

Tradition? In terms of the central items in the exhibit, there is no comparison with the traditions of Soviet realistic classicism. There is not even a hint of the avant-gardism of the 1920's the creative young people are so passionately interested in. Given all its contradictions, that was in fact art, art charged to the hilt with strong social activism. That is, it had what is glaringly absent from a majority of the works here.

Content? Dim shadows instead of figures, squalid manlings like misshapen, decrepit dolls shaken out of a junkman's sack, a faceless human "meat" filling out the painting's space.... And all this put together, someone triumphantly proclaims to be "the new art." I beg to differ. This low farce can hardly be said to have anything in common with the passionate sincerity of, for example, modern Soviet literature which, at its best, has done much to pave the way for the present social renewal. The critical "dearth of humaneness" in the pictures here is depressing, transformed into an ugly kind of ornamentation. And that's not a slip of the tongue: it is precisely "reverse ornamentation" when the claim to criticism is in fact a painful measure of Beauty, not backed up by skill, and degenerating into a rote pattern, a featureless grotesque.

The exhibit cannot lay any claim to authoritatively representing "the main lines of young people's art." The tendentiousness of the assortment here is obvious.

But, on that background, one can single out a plenitude of thoughtful, inspired works which are actually of high quality. The list would include the romantic Moscow scenes by V. Braynin and A. Zverev, the pensive and radiant genre composition by I. Gavrilov, the major decorative-monumental study by K. Merpert, and others. The monumental art section could have been interesting, but for its dull, unsuccessful photographs lost between rows of indifferent easel paintings. The bazaar-like beauty competes, with varying degrees of success, with the subtle decorativism in the exhibit's applied arts.

In the entrance section, there are quite a few effective, vivid, graphically clever posters. It's really too bad that what can be seen at our young people's exhibits probably has very little chance of wide circulation. The sculpture, the bulk of which is appreciably superior to the nearby paintings, is distinguished by its professional workmanship and by the abundance of original finds in portraits and the minor plastic arts.

The stage sets section resounds with sanguinity, with a nuance of mischievous inventiveness. Here, the carnival grotesque that is pretentious and even banal in many easel works, has seemingly been reborn and is in its element. As with the posters, one is sorry to see so often placards saying "not built...."

Like the sculpture, the graphics are certainly not the weakest section of the exhibit. K. Pobedin's plates, with their energetic, stern social comment, the landscapes by T. Tsyplakova, and the poetic urban scenes by Ye. Adamov, G. Shif and N. Krashchina are reminiscent of the romantic compositions of N. Zakharova and O. Monina. A large, complex, restless city is in general a constant strong impetus to going beyond the limits of studio-bound prospecting for a problematic vision of daily life. New works by Andersen, Feuchtwanger, Shakespeare, Hoffman, Zabolotskiy and other authors would gain immensely, in a decorative sense, from the inclusion of the finely-drawn book illustrations on display at the "17th."

The utopian architectural drawings A. Brodskiy, I. Utkin and others have created by synthesizing blueprint sketches and science-fiction visions will doubtless be a new genre to the viewing public at large.

In a word, there are quite a few islands of genuine skill at the "17th." But they are just that, islands, scattered and in isolation. Paradoxical as it may seem, though this exhibit was planned and prepared especially carefully, fleshed out with a diverse cultural program and, I guess, initially conceived by its producers as itself being an intrinsically valuable three-dimensional work of art, it is in its very structure that the exhibit turns out to be weakest, as the exhibits are not displayed as they deserve to be, but are rather an avalanche of unartistic stunts. There is practically no center, no heart, because what de facto becomes the focus of attention in no way represents what is best in our young people's art today. And none of the ancillary methods -- designer, sociological, descriptive-art -- is able to make up for this fundamental disorientation, in spite of the professionalism they reflect.

And the vicissitudes of this "exhibit-experiment" make themselves felt directly in the viewer reaction. Coming in to Kuznetskiy, you encounter the full range of emotions in the display rooms of the House of Art: disbelief, passionate enthusiasm, indignation and apathy. But the exhibit hardly facilitates thoughtful contemplation and profound dialogue with the image. After all, though, the perpetual purpose of every young people's exhibit is not simply to show the latest in artistic style (which is never all that new, by the way), as to be a place to learn, a school of art and life, both for the

participants themselves and for the viewers, which also include many young people. From this point of view as well, the current experiment cannot be said to have succeeded.

The current young people's exhibit in Kuznetskiy will doubtless become a landmark in the chronicle of Moscow artistic life, both for its successes, which unfortunately do not show up in the footlights because of their placement in secondary positions, and for its problems, which await thoughtful, serious critical reflection.

#### Creativity with 'Complications'

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by V. Yumatov: "Debut With Complications: Notes On the Creativity of Young Artists"]

[Text] The exhibits by young artists in Moscow have for 10 years now invariably been "an event." They have a special atmosphere of involvement with modern art, with precisely what is modern and "now." New names have constantly appeared, and we find the familiar names we already know well at a new stage each time.

But now they've gone on, one after another, just because of age, those former leaders whose works determined the creative level of the young people's exhibits, and the new generation is clearly late in coming. And something alarming has happened in the interim. The tone of the exhibits by young people has come to be set not by the highest creative result, but by what is average in all respects.

The diktat of "the average," hypnotic ordinariness, the inertia of familiar, mindless schemes, and the resultant drop in the creative potential of the pictorial art and its social significance -- all this has occurred, it must be said, both among young artists and, especially noticeably, in the Union of Artists. Unfortunately, this is forgotten when people begin censuring young artists. So now there is a proposal to disband the young-people's association attached to the Moscow Department of the Union of Artists (MOSKh). What is being said in this regard about the continuity of traditions and education in a friendly family of artists of different generations is true. But what about the actual situation? Judge for yourselves: of the 155 people in the MOSKh poster section, only two are under 35 (!); in the painting section of a recent all-union exhibit, the average age of the participants was 51. A certain group of names has been dropping out of the exhibits with startling consistency. Another kind of "tradition" has also arisen: many young painters are being admitted to the MOSKh only after appealing to higher authorities.

This was the atmosphere in which the 17th Exhibit of Young Moscow Artists opened and has been operating for the past three weeks. The city Komsomol committee organized it. The exhibit is experimental by nature. An open exhibit committee judged the works with the artists present. Numerous creative styles are represented equally in the displays. About 800 works by



600 artists have been displayed in a small area. Efforts have been made to explain the goals and methods of the experiment to the viewers, their opinions are being studied, and so on. The main thing that is new is the detailed concept of the exhibit (developed by art historians D. Dondurey, V. Meyland and Yu. Nikich). The point is to establish direct contact between the artist and the public, to break the usual viewing stereotypes.

Design has played a special role in this program. I. Lubennikov and A. Skokan have succeeded in creating a thoughtful spatial model for the exhibit, with elements of festival and play, of happy, unpretentious spectacle. But people are still coming to the exhibit for the works themselves.

And this is where the differences of opinion come in. Some find the exhibit interesting both in its form -- the displays -- and in what is being shown. In the opinion of others, it's "much ado about nothing." Still others find one display has "consumed" the works, and yet others find the exhibit "pretentious."

An exhibit imitating life.

This is the result: the familiar evaluation criteria seem unnatural, like a poetry reading injected into a talk between friends. And the reverse: what would look absurd and wild at our "official" exhibits is seen as natural here. For example, N. Ovchinnikov's "End of First Series" cartoon, with a handgun on the TV screen firing at someone jumping out the window, is just as elegantly clever as "The Eccentrics" on column 16 in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. A chime rings in the hall from time to time as someone brushes against a hanging construction of metal pipes ("Bi Ka Po," a mobile sculpture by G. Vinogradov).

Such things do not go beyond the bounds of propriety in any sense, nor are they even extravagant. They are quite accessible to even the most unsophisticated eyes. The fact that the level of artist pretentiousness here is lower is another matter. At certain pivotal moments in the development of art, it is precisely such "trifles," by themselves unproductive, that oddly turn out to be a necessary link, a condition for continued advancement. But the question becomes, "Kids, when is enough trifling enough?"

Of course, it does happen -- when art sometimes gets "weighted down" and overgrown with all sorts of sham circumstances, when "high style" becomes false, stilted and thus empty, when a gap arises between professional purpose and animated feeling -- it does happen that the artist seeks any opportunity to achieve a naturalness and immediacy of thought, feeling and expression. Thus, some artists from the 70's who have come around to large forms with a very strained civil and philosophical tone began by turning towards the "naive" art and folk literature for style. It's possible that we are seeing this type of process unfolding today.

The exhibit has many "naive" works at the very broadest range of levels. The sympathetic "primitives" of K. Sogomonyan. Several now-fashionable comics, advertisements and caricatures (M. Konnov. "New Patn" and others). B. Mamonov's "Apple," painting simplified to a single, solitary object-image. And, finally, the gravitation towards "childlike drawing." Works by L.

Tabenkin, I. Ganikovskiy, T. Faydysh, Ye. Dybskiy, A. Maksimov and Z. Sherman fall more or less into this "childlike" category, although it's hard to say the extent to which this return to "the land of childhood" is programmed on the part of the artists.

There has been criticism during the exhibit that realistic works have been inadequately represented. I do not agree, even if realism is understood to be the oversimplification apparently intended. There are quite a few works whose origin must have been the natural world. True, one does not often encounter among them things which are creatively interesting, but there are some. For example, the genre compositions of Ye. Popova and M. Gurvich, in which one senses an effort to "seize" daily life, to show man close-up, or V. Rusanov's paintings, also essentially in a genre and, at the same time, a profound interpretation of the theme of man's interrelationships with nature.

However, one would like to see the realistic series moved beyond literal verisimilitude and speaking both to the moral persuasion of an artist riding the wave of the life around him. Were this the definition, it would include many works, such as those by A. Sundukov, A. Abdullayev, M. Kantor, V. Braynin and M. Daugaviyete, although, given the diversity of styles and given that we respect the artists' intentions, there is the constant feeling that they are too attracted to one thing to the detriment of the rest: they see one side of things, the trees rather than the forest, the minute at the expense of the century. The works lack the all-encompassing feeling, the fullness of perception, that provides a measure of the large and small in genuinely realistic works. But perhaps realism is still an "adult" phenomenon and should be grown into, rather than acquired on loan?

Strange as it may seem, artists both young and old have a strong allegiance to what has been done previously and a scepticism of what is new. Faith that "everything is possible" has been replaced by certainty that "everything has already been done." As is true of realism, one can speak only of partial or near-romantic moods in paintings, including those at the current exhibit. But there are exceptions, one of the most serious and poetical of which is Ye. Kornilova's "Garden," though it is somewhat spare and thus loses the most subtle and freest element, its vividness.

Thus, the 17th Young Moscow Artists' Exhibit is over. Behind its "playful" exterior was a content quite a bit more profound and dramatic. At the same time, it forced one to think about important things, first and foremost the very existence of the MOSKh young people's association. The thought naturally occurs: Was it worth it to sharpen the corners? Wouldn't the reverse have been better, to try to round them off? After all, as we know, water doesn't flow under a flat rock. The experiment has essentially just begun, and its results can be judged only by consequences in the distant future, by how and whether our pictorial art responds to the creative impetus which the experiment has given it. The artist needs to believe that this is not a one-time measure. There will be other experiments like this, and still others unlike it, which will create a high "pitch" in artistic life.

The association of young artists is a creative organization with almost no peers, a smooth-running form of artistic growth and one with good traditions.

But even if one assumes that it has not justified itself, why junk the concept so quickly, without broad, business-like discussion? Why are the cinematographers, who are apparently also not entirely satisfied with the "Debut" association, now moving in directly the opposite direction, that is, to strengthen that association? At the same time, one real disaster for our young artists is the fact that the "passive voice" figures in every reference to them: they "are discussed," they "are developed," an exhibit is or is not put on "for them," their association is "to be abolished".... The artists do need to be helped, to be sure, but by opening the door for them, by commenting on everything better, more widely and more exactly, but without prejudging their creative results. We need to listen closely to the voices of the young. They are the hope of art.

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CSO: 1800/246

## SOCIAL ISSUES

PRAVDA: 'DEMOCRATIZATION IS NOT A SIMPLE PROCESS'

PM201637 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Studying Democracy. Party Committees Under Conditions of Openness"]

[Text] Reports of this kind are increasingly frequently encountered in news roundups nowadays.

...At the Yelgava "RAF" Plant, following an all-union competition, a new director has been elected by open ballot from among the winners.

...Two candidacies were put forward for the post of party raykom first secretary in Kemerovo Oblast's Izhmorskiy Rayon. A raykom plenum made its choice by secret ballot.

...So-called "telegatherings" involving thousands of people are firmly entering the practice of Georgian television. They assume the nature of popular referendums on the most urgent problems of concern to the population. The suggestions, criticisms, and recommendations made there become the basis for adopting important decisions at republic level.

Behind such facts, and there are more and more of them in our life, can be seen one of the most important signs of the times, of the restructuring begun by the party -- the broadening and further development of democratic principles. The foundations laid by V.I. Lenin and the principles of people's power of the soviets as the most democratic of sociopolitical systems are, as it were, finding their original essence and resolutely ridding themselves of all kinds of later bureaucratic and voluntaristic accretions and excrescences. The lessons of truth and of direct and open Bolshevik analysis of the acutest problems taught by the 27th CPSU Congress are penetrating increasingly deeply into the everyday practice of party committees, soviets, trade unions, and the Komsomol and are increasingly determining the moral atmosphere of our social life.

The CPSU Central Committee January Plenum has given a powerful new boost to the democratization process and the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society. Openness, criticism, self-criticism, and monitoring by the masses are becoming the norm for our way of life and reliable guarantees of success in the great cause of accelerating the country's socioeconomic and spiritual development.



At the same time, experience shows that the democratization process is far from simple. It demands -- not just at some time but right now -- the irrevocable abandonment of many old approaches, of the habits of bureaucratic administration and issuing orders, of ignoring acute topics, and of overcautiousness. Some workers find it hard to understand that democracy is not just a slogan but the essence of restructuring. But there is no other way, and it is necessary to travel this path more boldly and change our views and habits in order not to end up outside the mainstream of life.

As in any serious matter, Communists and party committees and bureaus must, above all, set an example in asserting everywhere the principles of publicity, openness, and veracity. They must act at all levels as organs of political leadership, as generators and vectors of new ideas, working in the midst of the masses, expressing their interests in policies, combining collectivism in formulating decisions with monitoring and personal responsibility for a specific task, and asserting the spirit of criticism and self-criticism aimed at rectifying shortcomings and omissions. A party committee and a leader can only count on success under modern conditions if they rely in their work not on paper directives worked out in offices but on the initiative of the masses and the creative potential of people who have become aware that they are the country's true masters.

Reports from the provinces indicate that there are still many workers, including party workers, who look warily on the democratization process. While verbally proclaiming loyalty to restructuring, they in fact shun the least manifestations of criticism and sometimes victimize people for it. There are, alas, enough examples of such "restructuring" in the pages of our press. By what are such workers guided? Some of them see criticism and openness as an encroachment on their prestige, as "undermining personal authority." Others fear some sort of "slur": A shadow will be cast over the oblast, rayon, city, or collective, they say. Yet others, while verbally acknowledging criticism, do nothing practical to eliminate the shortcomings noted. Clearly, all this has nothing in common with party-mindedness or genuine concern for our common cause.

Lenin despised "all falsehood" in a position. The party considered and still considers the ability to "criticize oneself openly and plainly call a mistake and a weakness a mistake and a weakness," openness, exactingness, and democratism not a sign of weakness but a sign of strength. This is a natural state in the struggle of the new against the old, a natural process in the life of a person, organization, or collective which have not stopped in their development and do not vegetate but grow, improve, and advance. Conversely, as practice shows, an atmosphere of outward smoothness, breezy showiness, and overregimentation is frequently an alarm signal and attests to a kind of necrosis of the social organism, to a stoppage of growth.

An appeal to learn to work under conditions of developing democracy was heard with new force at the January plenum of the party's Central committee.

An appeal to learn to work under conditions of developing democracy was heard with new force at the January plenum of the party's Central Committee. That means it is necessary to create in every labor collective, in every party and public organization, in central and local departments and establishments preconditions which will enable a person to feel in full measure the unity of rights and obligations, to display his civic stance, and to feel himself the master. It means strictly observing the principles of accountability and control at all levels and on no account permitting the emergence of zones closed to criticism or of "untouchable" people. It means strictly observing the principles of accountability and control at all levels and on no account permitting the emergence of zones closed to criticism or of "untouchable" people. It means not fearing the destruction of long established, customary stereotypes which do not meet the demands of the times, not imposing your own will on people or on a collective who have formed a different opinion on any question, and, if this is closer to the truth and preferable for the cause, openly and honestly admitting your own mistake.

Of course, the concept of democracy embraces not only rights but also obligations, enhanced responsibility, and conscious discipline. Wider openness certainly does not mean freedom of action for demagogues and slanderers. On the contrary, open discussion of problems of concern to people directly serves the cause of improving the social climate and puts an end to all kinds of fabrications and rumors. It is the duty of party organizations and the mass news and propaganda media to make bolder use of the atmosphere of openness and democratism to widely involve the masses in the restructuring process and to support living shoots of new experience and genuine devotees of restructuring who spare no effort in the struggle for acceleration. And, at the same time, to further rally their own ranks and purge them of careerists and windbags, of those whose convictions, to use Lenin's words, "go no deeper than the tip of their tongue."

Great schemes and plans give rise to great energy when they become the property of the people and enter the flesh and blood of millions. Restructuring presupposes the all possible development of the initiative, independence, and militancy of labor collectives and of all our cadres and tremendous work on accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The democratization process is an inalienable factor for success on the way to this goal.

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CSO: 1800/406

## SOCIAL ISSUES

### 'OVERCENTRALIZATION' SEEN AS CAUSE OF CORRUPTION

Tallinn RAIIVA HAAL in Estonian 11 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by Siim Kallas]

[Excerpts] Let us assume that two acquaintances meet, who have not seen each other for already several years. Let us assume that one deals with people who have always had an interest in the problems of economy and who are also sufficiently familiar with them.

Let us assume now that these two acquaintances will now start discussing the pros and cons of the economic renewal. Let us see what the outcome will be.

B: The combat against drunkenness and alcoholism is without doubt the right direction in principle and it must be given support although I have doubts about a lot which has been undertaken. However, I consider the laws for combating the non-labor incomes as a completely regressive step.

A: Why is that?

B: The most essential [thing] is that these measures ignore the laws of economy, economic processes and are therefore a vivid example of voluntarism and the subjective approach to economic problems.

A: What gives you the ground to claim that?

B: Let us take motor transport. Nobody would recruit those who do transport jobs on the if there was a decent transport service organized. The need to transport construction materials, agricultural produce and the like is really objective and if there are no normal opportunities for satisfying it, then naturally, dubious paths will be taken. It is the same story with the use of machinery, construction jobs and many other services which are officially unsolved. It is also the same story with speculation. Let us remain Marxists and acknowledge that speculation exists not because of the existence of bad men, the speculators. Speculation is possible because a shortage of decent goods and services exists. Marx said that where a shortage of goods occurs, there will always be somebody to profit from it. The troubles of the economy are no match for the militia.

A: But you must still acknowledge that in our society bribe-taking is also still very widespread; this has been demonstrated by several major court cases in Moscow and elsewhere. Against those one had to resort to something decisive.

B: Bribery is one of the most dangerous things in society and of course one has to fight against it. But do not overlook the soil which feeds it - that is, first of all, overcentralized management, the excessive power of the central administrative apparatus and the bureaucracy. These roots for bribery must be cut off and then one can ultimately eliminate this phenomenon from our society.

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CSO: 1815/21



## SOCIAL ISSUES

### UZBEK DEPUTY PREMIER ON CHILD MORTALITY, FAMILY PLANNING

PM051026 [Editorial report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian in the 28 February 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 2 under the rubric "News Panorama: Economy, Services, Culture" a 700-word interview with S.U. Sultanova, deputy chairman of the Uzbek SER Council of Ministers, by correspondent G. Dimov in Tashkent, headed "Large Families Through the Doctors' Eyes," datelined Tashkent. The interview, devoted to aspects of the republic's health program, deals with doctors' training and the provision of new clinical facilities, and concludes with the following passage:

[Dinov] The public is worried about the high child mortality in the republic.

[Sultanova] This is the main sore point of the Health Program. Home visits to pregnant women and the work of children's intensive care services are not yet running smoothly, and there are many disorders in the work of maternity homes. These have been revealed, in particular, by the people's controllers, and an Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee decision was adopted at the end of last year on the basis of their materials.

"But we must also look at the problem from another angle. The frequent losses of neonates in our region are not only due to the insufficiently high standard of maternity services and care of neonates. Anemia is widespread among mothers, and therefore in many neonates, and this in turn is a direct consequence of frequent pregnancies. Unfortunately we have not yet overcome the established Eastern attitude toward woman as the active continuer of the race, which restricts her social position and limits her opportunities to raise healthy children in the spirit of present-day requirements."

"Six out of every 10 rubles allocated to health care in Uzbekistan are channeled into the development of maternity and pediatric services. All the same, for the sake of the mothers' health and in order to reduce child mortality in zones like Central Asia where the birth rate is high, it is necessary to adopt family planning."

"The state gives material support to large families and moral encouragement to mothers of many children. But we in Central Asia are becoming less moved by

the fact that every family is a large one--today you have to take into account not only the number, but the health of each child. The time has probably come for us to think together about where to encourage large families and where to introduce family planning--these questions should become the prerogative and sovereign right of the union republics."

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CSO: 1830/335

## REGIONAL ISSUES

### LIPETSK OBKOM CHIEF ON NEED FOR BETTER CADRES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Yu. Manayenkov, first secretary of the Lipetsk Obkom of the CPSU, under the "Party Life, Soviets" rubric: "Obligation: The Maturity of Cadres Is Verified by Concrete Deed"]

On the eve of the October festivities, the oblast multi-profile hospital, an enormous health complex, opened its doors in Lipetsk. The first and for the time being the only such complex. You understand, there was much joy, and congratulations and applause were heard. But I do not hide that there remained also a feeling of bitter dissatisfaction. As if a shadow on clear day--neither the flashes of photographic portraits nor the cheerful speeches brightened it.

How did it happen that this celebration was delayed for almost 15 years? For almost that long the hospital was built. And this with a standard period of four and a half years! Why then were ever new deadlines again postponed, again broken? Why, finally, did the Lipetsk builders, who have an exceptionally high feeling of work quality, why did they not perceive the expenditure of their prestige here, and why were they not filled with indignation? You see, they had to be simply obligated after all! They had shown that they know how to work, when we, correcting mistakes of long standing, targeted them at the unconditionally obligatory present deadline for the commissioning of the hospital.

. . . . The deeper the process of restructuring goes, the more visibly it opens [our] eyes to what has become familiar, what has become obsolete, what we must decisively get rid of. In the history of the "long-term construction of the hospital", like in a mirror, the ingrained ailment of irresponsibility, to which we had already become accustomed, was reflected. It was known to all: It is impossible to begin a construction project without technical documentation. They started it. Then the customer did not provide financing for the project. Then they withdrew the builders to other projects: They say, to work here is for the time being optional. . . . Do you sense? Two responsibilities settled, as it were, at the construction site: One official--for the builders, the other secret--for those who directed them. And they "froze" the construction project. . . .

What is such obligatoriness? It has many definitions. Among the constant ones are strictness, faithfulness, conscientiousness, diligence, and self-discipline.

But deprive these qualities of conscious maturity--and here already negligence, lack of discipline, irresponsibility, and corruption swell up like in a pool. Everything that we come to know before the April changes and what up to the present we have been shaking off from our feet.

And now I recall how the first sessions of the present composition of the obkom buro went. Imagine, there appears before you, with a report or explanation of his unfinished work, a solid and respected comrade, he nods assent to all claims and understandingly assures: "It will be done." And he left, and all assurances were forgotten by him, and the undertaking rolls along in the well-worn rut. One such, another, a third. . . . And then there was no fourth. Because the buro accumulated experience, and the "fourth" already knew: For thoughtless words one has to answer. Although I will not oversimplify--the fear to assume responsibility has remained with some people.

Not long ago, the oblast newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA disclosed how in Izmalkovskiy Rayon several houses were taken into operation in which it was simply impossible to live because of serious imperfections. Surely, who but the chief architect of the rayon, V. D. Petrov, knew perfectly well: To accept them was impossible. And he accepted them. Why? In reply he advanced the reason--they pressured "from above". However, as it turned out, nobody "pressured". He signed the documents in order not to offend anyone. Here you start to think: For what reason does he have the reputation of an effective and principled person among the leaders of the rayon?

Precisely in this lies the danger of non-obligatoriness, that you do not immediately assess it. The destruction of discipline, drunkenness, the misuse of official position, and unearned incomes we have learned to recognize, and although to date we have only removed the "tops" in the struggle against them, we already have a certain experience, methods, and criteria. The "roots" of sham promises are deeper.

Most likely, we have noticed: In the progressive collective there are more efficient and responsible people than in the collective that is lagging behind. Do they specially select them? By no means. It is simply that, in the case of a good manager, trust in people, control and accounting, figuratively speaking, live hand in hand. As V. I. Lenin taught. I was told that in the Rossiya Sovkhoz of Gryazinskiy Rayon, where Hero of Socialist Labor N. T. Vladimirov is the director, one of the best dairymaids left: She had found work that was a little easier. And suddenly. . . she came back: "I cannot work there: They do not notice successes, nor idleness. Better demand and order." In other words, lack of discipline is as an outsider to an honest person. This is extremely important to take into account when you turn to the reserves of the individual, to the human factor. But why hide, do we not often have the occasion to hear at a party meeting that the party organization and the leader, not to even say anything about rank and file communists, would turn to such Leninist requirements as control and accounting and the check on fulfillment? At the congress, the conference or the plenum--this is another matter. Well, already in the examination at the VUZ. . . .

Why is this so? Indeed, restructuring is not only the renunciation of the old, renewal and alteration of the obsolete, but also the return to



concepts of their primary and original meaning. Responsibility is personal, said V. I. Lenin, and among the most important he advanced the task: To attain real personal responsibility. Proceeding from this, we are organizing our work with cadres.

Not long ago I noticed: The pelmeni [Siberian meat dumplings] were disappearing from the counters of Lipetsk stores. What is the matter? It turns out that the pelmeni shop is closed: The old equipment was worn out, and no one had concerned himself with new equipment. Why? They began to look into it, they counted about a dozen "responsible [workers]"--from the chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee to the brigade leader! So to speak, a whole chain of obligations, and not a single obligatoriness. We intervened, of course, and the matter will be corrected. But why in this way, on the initiative "from above", and not independently. In arousing independence and initiative in people, especially at first, control must be more strictly realized, I would even say supervision.

One must start with oneself. You see, it is no secret: In the obkom something slipped, in the raykom something did not snap into action--and the task did not get to the executor. The entire mechanism spun idle! That is why there is paper to spare where there is room for the deed. And also because the orally transmitted word has fallen into decay and has lost in value: Where you would obtain a reliable positive statement or agreement, multi-volume collections of paper distrust are produced. We must return to the word its original value, first of all to the word of the communist and leader. Whether he occupies a high or somewhat lesser chair, he assumes a special duty: The fate of people, the collectives, and the entire undertaking depends on his responsibility.

Beginning with the summer, we manifested uneasiness about the future winter preparation and discussed it with all executives and extended assistance to them. Among others they also asked N. G. Zagorskiy, the director of the Lipetsk Tractor Plant: "Are you able to prepare the factory and the settlement yourself or are there questions?" "There are no questions," Nikolay Grigoryevich declared with assurance. He is a man of authority, they believed him. But the October coolness had hardly begun, when complaints rained down from the tractor builders: It is cold. We had to send out two trusts and tie up all the builders of the city, who for 2 days and nights fought for heat. The people of Lipetsk remember how during the summer the deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, A. S. Gubanov, gave an interview in the Vremya program. "The residents of the city," he assured everyone, "will be completely supplied with vegetables." "You guarantee this," he was asked. "Yes, I guarantee it!"

Fall came, and those who received the "guarantee" lined up in a queue for cabbage. And although the shortages lasted only for a day and a half, this did not remain without attention. Who was to blame? At a session of the CPSU Obkom Buro, we put this question to A. S. Gubanov. In his opinion, all those were to blame who were involved in the procurement of vegetables, with the exception. . . of the deputy chairman of the oblispolkom personally. What is this? An attempt to lay the responsibility on others? To escape from punishment? The Buro subjected such "high-rank" non-obligatoriness to uncompromising party account.

In general, it has been noticed: There is a type of leader who, having taken the leader's chair, swiftly masters his rights. But literally years are required in order for him to master his duties. This also happens with entire collectives, where dependence, support on rights and privileges replace the feeling of the manager: "If it is for me--I am the boss, if it is from me, I will not move a finger." Such a psychology exactly is "cultivated" by careless managers.

This is why, in reorganizing the work of the party committees at present, we demand the promotion not simply of fresh people, but people with unusual and audacious thinking, capable of acting in an innovative manner in new conditions, who without prompting assume burden and responsibility. We are giving broad publicity through the press to the rise and fall of cadres. We are actively practicing certification, discussion, and public reports about the fulfillment of official and public duties, as well as individual control over the fulfillment of prescribed norms. Objective characterizations have been approved for 1,540 party members, from which it is evident, who, so to speak, is worth what.

Obsolete habits, methods, and traditions are gradually falling out of practice. This, without a doubt, is good. What is bad is something else. Not all stop to think what precisely is being acquired in exchange.

Not so long ago, the obkom bureau issued a severe reprimand to the first secretary of the Stanovlyanskiy Party Raykom, V. P. Repkin. An economically progressive rayon, and the secretary is an energetic and competent man, in many respects he deserves credit for the fact that the farms and fields here are adding to productivity. But, evidently, he did not notice how the economic fence began to cut him off from political and ideological work: He pulled up the economy, but he is losing people--eight supervisory workers of the rayon during the year were called to account or were close to the border beyond which criminal responsibility begins. And it is small comfort that Viktor Pavlovich himself is an honest person. If he would decide economic affairs as a political worker--with people and through people, his economic findings would gain three times in value and social significance.

. . . The past summer happened to be drought-afflicted, the grain harvest we gathered was not greater than that of our neighbors. But the procurement plan was fulfilled. I emphasize: Not without difficulties for the fodder reserves of the farms. This provided an impetus to seriously take up fodder production. Through the expansion of sowings and the increase of the harvest of rape and corn on the basis of grain technology and repeated sowings it proved possible to lay in 18.8 quintals of fodder units per conventional head of cattle. In other words, the grain forage is smaller than during the past year, but as a whole the fodder potential is greater, and, what is most important, the productivity of cattle is higher. The oblast already in November fulfilled the state plan for the procurement of all types of livestock production. I am thinking as follows: Had we left grain for fodder, as previously, it would not be better. And they would have unnerved people--and would have taught the next lesson of non-obligatoriness.

Yes, for the time being there are plenty of such "lessons" of non-obligatoriness. And people remember them very well--not to our advantage. Here is a clear case.

However, at times conditions arise in which to fulfill the obligations on the basis of honor and conscience is. . . disadvantageous. Examples? Yes, here is even if only one such example.

Among the plants of the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry of the Tsentrolit [not further identified] type, not a single one has reached design capacities. Not a single one, except the Lipetsk Plant, which even exceeded them somewhat. It would seem, no matter where to search for reserves in the first place, only not here. In an extreme case, in the second. But. . . they are searching. What is more, they are planning the highest production growth rates, moreover on the condition of the output of production not on the products list for 1.5 million rubles. In other words, they are betting on rails that are leading to a dead end. Do such approaches not raise pompous chatterboxes, among whom nothing in word is kept, except they themselves.

Non-obligatory obligations. Schemes of assurances and promises instead of the living deed and interested rivalry in competition. All of this struggles hard with our slogans and appeals and is turned around by the apathy of the mass to the fruit of its labor. We have conducted sample sociological research: A third of the participants in competition do not know who is ahead and who is lagging behind. And every third believes that obligations are accepted formally. For this reason, now, having encountered the year 1987, the obkom, the gorkoms, raykoms, and party committees are searching for ways of renewing the forms and methods of competition, to raise the role of political and economic studies, are trying to make the Soviets and trade unions more active, and are organizing the managers and labor collectives in such work so that words and plans are not divorced from the deed. So that our entire life is firmly supported by the indeed golden reserve of obligatoriness.

From a Letter to the Obkom

Prior to turning to you, I wrote more than three dozen letters to various directive organs. And from every quarter came formal replies to the effect that the facts are not confirmed. But facts were, as they say, present. In our eyes, M. Guznayeva, member of the party and secretary of the Usman Gorispolkom, enjoying the protection of the rayon leaders, broke the law. The facts of her unworthy conduct were fully confirmed during a careful examination conducted by V. Klinkov, the chairman of the Party Control Commission under the CPSU obkom. And here is the result of real adherence to principles--for an irresponsible and formal-bureaucratic attitude toward the verification of letters from workers and the presentation of unauthentic information to higher organs, as well as for failure to adopt measures to stop the illegal actions of the secretary of the gorispolkom, the former chairmen: of the rayispolkom--A. Timofeyev, the gorispolkom--N. Shevyakov, and the chairman of the party commission under the party raykom--I. Zhuravlev, were given severe reprimands, with entry into the reprimand cards. All of them were dismissed from the posts they occupied. The former first secretary of the raykom, V. Roslyakov, and the rayon procurator, I. Konovalov received severe party penalties, and M. Guznayeva herself, the holder of official position, was excluded from the party.

It is good that you believed me, an ordinary communist, and not the dozens of "official documents."

S. Varavin,  
participant in the Great Patriotic  
War and second-group invalid.

From a Letter to the Obkom

I am working as a charwoman in the Zadonskiy Rayispolkom. I live with my sick son in an old, shed-like apartment and dilapidated house. Already when my husband, a participant in the Great Patriotic War, was alive, they promised to improve our housing conditions. We were first in line. But when my husband died, they apparently forgot about us completely. Where all did I not write! The previous chairman of the rayispolkom, A. Zolotukhin, even got angry at me for this and more than once drove me to tears. N. Kobzeva, the former chairman of the gorispolkom, also did not want to talk with me. Then both of them were removed from their work because of improper affairs.

Now new people have arrived. In November I was received by the chairman of the rayispolkom, P. Yaitskiy. He promised to resettle us in a new apartment by the New Year. The New Year festivities have passed, and we are living as before in the old place. True, in the first quarter they promise to deliver a new 27-apartment house and to give us a 2-room apartment in it. I am afraid, as it were, that these promises will again remain empty words.

A. Lykova

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### UDMURT OBKOM CHIEF STRESSES NEED FOR INITIATIVE, EFFECTIVENESS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN No 24, Dec 86 (signed to press 10 Dec 86) in Russian pp 23-28

[Article by P. Grishchenko, first secretary of the Udmurt Obkom of the CPSU: "Develop Initiative and Effectiveness, Fight Against Inertia and Parasitic Smugness"]

[Text] The first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan is coming to an end. The communists and the workers of the Udmurt ASSR, as well as of the entire country, are summing up its results, are bringing to light and are placing into the service of production, internal reserves for the acceleration of economic development, the cardinal renewal of production and technology, and the securing of high-quality production output. The obkom, the gorkoms and raykoms of the party and the primary party organizations of the republic are carefully analyzing the course of the reorganization in the labor collectives at all levels of management and administration and are determining the tasks with respect to the steady build-up of the rates of development in the decisive sphere of human activity--the economy, to see to it that things are changed for the better in every sector, that people feel confident and that they act energetically and creatively.

These are not simple tasks. Their realization is possible on the condition of continuous study with life and the constant comprehension of its experience and lessons. Statistics, in the language of passionless figures, indicate: Positive trends were noted in the development of sectors of the national economy. The positive advances in the economy, although not in all sectors and not everywhere to an identical degree, are gathering force. However, let us say it directly, qualitative changes have not taken place up to now. About this we will have to talk, among other things, because the production and scientific potential of the republic makes it possible to achieve more. Thus, according to preliminary data, 78 industrial enterprises are not fulfilling the plans for the delivery of production for a total sum of 36 million rubles. In 7 of 25 rayons in the republic the output of industrial production will be reduced by comparison with the past year, and in 5 rayons there will be a decrease in labor productivity.

There are still many shortcomings in the work of builders. Contract organizations, having increased the volumes of major work by comparison with the past

year, are not guaranteeing the smooth introduction of production capacities and projects. Some labor collectives have, and do not use, large reserves for qualitative changes in work, others--true, there are few of them-- have come to a stop in their development and are surrendering previously achieved positions.

The CPSU Obkom, proceeding from the directives of the 27th Party Congress and the June (1986) Central Committee Plenum, first of all, critically examined its activity and the activity of the party gorkoms and raykoms, and their influence on the work of the labor collectives. Some 360 party organizations became the subject of study. Specially created commissions and groups of party activists, in accordance with programs drawn up beforehand, conducted necessary research with the goal of revealing to what extent the level of party work corresponds to the spirit of the time.

The secretaries and members of the party obkom, the gorkoms and raykoms of the party, conducted hundreds of meetings with secretaries of the party organizations, the workers of the Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, and the executives of the ministries and departments, enterprises and associations of practically all sectors of the national economy of the republic. In discussions and meetings, key problems of management and administration were touched on, and, the main thing, practical work was analyzed, how party committees and primary organizations, with the forms and methods characteristic of them, are solving the questions of the transition of production to the rails of intensification and the increase of efficiency. The discussion boiled down to what must be done in order to raise the activeness of the workers.

The analysis carried out by the party obkom clearly convinced that the reorganization has not yet touched many labor collectives and party organizations, not to mention trade union and Komsomol organizations. Also encountered were such phenomena, where the executives talk about restructuring too much and too happily, but do not do anything for its practical realization and work in the old way. It was brought to light that, as a rule, party work in such collectives is at a low level. In so doing, in the party organizations, as it were, the external attributes of energetic activity are observed: Meetings and sessions of the party committees and buros are held, at which questions connected with the improvement of things in production are submitted. In general, on the outside everything, as it were, is successful.

In actual fact, the surveys of the workers and the sociological research conducted by the party obkom showed that a radical change in production and in the social sphere is hindered by conservatism, inertia of thinking, and complacency. Moreover, many executives did not become used to working independently, they wait for instructions from above and are afraid to show initiative. All of this, to a considerable extent, also applies to party committees and primary organizations. At the same time, as before, they take upon themselves the decision of many questions, replacing the Soviet, trade union and economic organs. There is also another extreme, where workers of the apparatus of the party committees take the view that they have already reorganized and lecture to party activists and economic personnel. Some of them are carried away by various sorts of measures that have an ostentatious character.

The party obkom began restructuring from the standpoint of its own activity, and raising its own success-rate. First of all, they set themselves the task: To remove the obstacles in the path of economically literate management, to join the practical line with real life, and to renew the forms and methods of party work. The point is the increase of the quality of party work, the change of the party committees and the primary organizations to people and to the living cause.

The most important prerequisite for the healthy life of every party organization is the creation of an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism and the consistent carrying through of the principle of the collectivity of leadership. Only the strict observance of these principles can guard against subjectivist eccentricities and exclude the adoption of insufficiently considered and unfounded decisions.

Until recently, in many party committees and in the obkom itself, the collectivity of leadership consisted merely in the joint discussion and adoption of decrees. The preparation and critical study of the documents were conducted by the forces of the apparatus. Of course, in this case, the great forces, experience, and collective reason of the elected aktiv were practically not used. Hence the quality of the decisions being taken suffered. And they were frequently not carried out.

We may as well confess, even in the obkom a style of work struck root where the workers of the apparatus were basically preoccupied with operational matters and with the adoption of measures in a helter-skelter manner, connected with the bridging of the gaps arising every time in economic construction. It turned out: While they pulled out one sector, they neglected a second and third. The numerous decisions being taken abounded with the establishment of shortcomings and contained few constructive recommendations for overcoming them.

The obkom had to go after a change of this practice. Thus, for the preparation of the plenum, at which the question of the further development of agriculture and the agroindustrial complex were examined, they involved the members of the obkom and the secretaries of the raykoms, the people in charge of agriculture, the workers of the party, Soviet and trade union organs, and scientists, on a broad scale. This made it possible to consider more fully the reserves for increasing the success rate of party work.

The party organizations and the labor collectives are striving to work with a perspective, with a glance to the future. At the suggestion of the obkom, the oblast party organization and the labor collectives developed goal-oriented integrated programs for the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress, the intensification of production, the expansion of road construction, the increase of the culture of labor and everyday life, the improvement of work with management personnel, the fortification of the health of the workers, and the improvement of the supply of the population with food products and consumer goods. Each one of these documents envisages a system of measures guaranteeing the acceleration of the development of one or another production and social sphere of activity. The goal-oriented method of planning makes it possible to overcome departmentalism in the solution of territorial and

sector problems and to concentrate the means and efforts of the party organizations on the key directions of the reorganization and the acceleration of development.

The greater part of the population is now being involved in the development of the most important decisions of long-term significance through the republic press. The formation of public opinion and support on it are becoming one of the integral requirements of the work of the oblast party organization.

Meetings in the labor collectives give a great deal to party workers. They give rise to new thoughts and valuable suggestions, they compel people to work more energetically. It is our aspiration that every discussion be open and honest, even if the discussion turns out to be unpleasant for the committee. And people are becoming convinced that they came to them, not with the next "dressing-down", but to seek advice, to work out some kind of a solution together, and to elicit their opinion. And they willingly enter into open discussion. In the preparation of such meetings, we find out beforehand what is troubling people. Moreover, we do not fail to give attention to a single question that was raised.

In our conditions, meetings of the party committee workers with workers have proved themselves well. Here is the way they recently organized this measure in Sarapul. During 10 days, the secretaries, members of the party obkom, the responsible officials of its departments, as well as of the ministries and departments of the republic, were literally in all labor collectives and primary party organizations. They familiarized themselves with the practice of the work of the enterprises and party organizations and brought to light the pluses and minuses in their activity. Then a meeting with the party apparatus and the leadership of the city organizations was held in the party gorkom. After an open exchange of opinions, where quite a few pretensions were made against the obkom officials, they developed joint recommendations for implementing the proposals of the workers.

In what lies the sense of such meetings? In the fact that they make possible the fuller exposure of the state of affairs, are conducive to the extension of more effective assistance at the local level, and orient the executives, the party committees, and the secretaries of the primary party organizations, toward the solution of the first and foremost tasks which the party obkom includes in the general program of actions.

The guiding line for work in the party organizations and labor collectives sharply increased the problem of the shortage of time of the party workers. The party committees had to take up in earnest the organization of the labor of workers. Many gorkoms and raykoms of the party have recently adopted so-called regulations of the work of party committees. In them are stipulated concrete measures in regard to the planning to work, the control over the implementation of decisions being taken, and the work with letters from workers. Days for the conduct of conferences, seminars, and party studies are also established. The procedure for the execution of audits and the study of the activity of city, rayon, and primary party organizations is coordinated. Other questions, which are mainly connected with the management of documents, are also reflected. Of course, the question concerning the excessive regulation



of the activity of the party worker may arise. In our view, these documents have directed the work of the apparatus of the party committees into the right channel and have helped them to coordinate their activity with the work of the Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs.

The party obkom is constantly warning the party committees against their attempts to interfere directly in economic matters. We are trying not to fetter the initiative and independence of the economic managers. If it is necessary to correct the work somewhere, act through the party organization, help to arrange people in a way so that they themselves solve the problems that arise.

In all large and small matters, the party committees strive to base themselves on initiative and progressive experience, which today is becoming an indisputable rule of work. At the present time, plans are not approved if they do not envisage the dissemination of experience. This, it seemed, simple measure produces quite good results.

Here is a concrete example from the activity of the Dormoststroy [Republic Trust of Road and Bridge Construction]. The party organization conducted a great deal of explanatory work among the workers, which guaranteed the understanding by every worker of the purpose and meaning of the acceleration of the construction rates. During its active participation in the brigades and in the sectors, they attentively studied not only the experience of the work on a collective contract of the Trust No 18 situated near Moscow, but also introduced it on a broad scale into production. The contract and cost accounting made it possible to strengthen labor, state and plan discipline, and to involve all workers in the management of production. As a result, a long-term plan was developed, which envisages, for the five-year-plan, the building of an additional 30 kilometers of modern highway, which will connect the rayon village of Vavozh with Ustinovo.

The undertaking of the builders is of considerable value: 12 rayon centers to date do not have a firm road connection with the republic center. This is precisely why the question of the installation of roads with asphalt concrete surface was raised especially sharply at the oblast report and election party conference, as one of the basic conditions for the acceleration of the development of agriculture and the agroindustrial complex and for the realization of the plans for the transformation of the Non-Chernozem Zone.

The experience of the party organization of the Republic Trust of Road and Bridge Construction was approved by the obkom, which decided to disseminate it broadly in the party organizations. The CPSU obkom charged the managers of the Udmurtavtodor [not further identified] republic road construction organization with the development of a goal-oriented road construction program. Such a document has been presented.

However, during its examination the aspiration of the workers to live through the next five-year plan quietly and without effort was discovered. The proposed program led away from the solution of an undoubtedly difficult task, namely: To link, by means of asphalt-concrete roads, during the current five-year plan, all rayon centers to the republic center, and to build gravel and crushed stone routes to the center farmsteads. It goes without saying, it

was impossible to agree with plans of that sort. Members of the party obkom and a broad aktiv joined in their revision. Large reserves were exposed, both among the builders and among the industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It was entirely realistic, it turned out, to increase the original tasks with respect to the work volume by one-third, and this already solves the problem posed. The undertaking was supported by the RSFSR Ministry of Highways.

The measures taken by the party committees in regard to the improvement of the management of the economy made it possible to raise the success rate of party work. However, we are far from the thought that everything has been solved. This is by far not so. Unfortunately, to date it is still not an uncommon occurrence where people are not informed about what tasks they will have to solve in the current five-year plan, year, month, and even the next day. For this reason, many party committees of the republic strive to reorganize their work in such a way as to reach every person and to help him bring into operation the reserves that exist in every workplace.

What is being done for this? In the party groups, the communists now, as a rule, once a year receive an assessment of their labor and socio-political activeness. In the brigades and the sections, questions of discipline and the quality of labor of the workers are also reviewed every day in the planning meetings.

The work of party groups and economic managers is carefully analyzed in the primary party organizations. It must be noted that such a system came into being, not in the calm of offices, but was taken directly from the practice of the Izhtal [Izhevsk Steel] Association.

It is impossible, most likely, not to talk about the selection of secretaries of the party organizations. Here the obkom has a sizable field of activity. A part of the secretaries still do not meet the requirements which the party makes of them. One of the reasons for this is the unprincipled position of the raykoms, which let themselves be led by the managers in the promotion of obedient and convenient secretaries of party organizations by them. As a result, the work suffers, and up to 60 secretaries have to be released from work every year.

Among the secretaries there are also those who simply occupy posts. For many years Araslanov was counted as secretary of the party committee of the Shafeyevskiy Sovkhoz. And more than once he attended various courses and seminars, but even then he did not learn political methods of work. And he also had not mastered farm practice. First quickly to the director, and then he wrote papers and reports to the raykom.

Let us tell the truth, such excuses for leaders are found in every rayon. Moreover, at times they display a condescending attitude toward him in the raykoms: "The kolkhoz secretary, they say." No, he is not a kolkhoz, but a party secretary. The post of secretary of a party organization is a responsible sector of political work. Thus, promising and authoritative communists must be selected to this post, so that they are sure to have had the experience of public work. This is how the party obkom poses the question.

The complex processes of reorganization presuppose a qualitatively new level of the solution of questions of the selection, placing, and training of personnel at all levels, the assessment of their political maturity, and the ability to conduct the work with acceleration. Let us acknowledge, many violations of the Leninist principles of the work with cadres are being permitted by the rural party raykoms. Thus, in the Kezskiy Rayon, for a long time they literally merely stated the facts of the violations of party norms on the part of the second secretary of the raykom, Ardashev. In the party obkom the comrades knew about this, but, don't you see, it was awkward for them to offend the man. As a result, things went to the point that Ardashev allowed himself to go to the platform of the meeting of the aktiv of the rayon party organization in the state of intoxication. He was punished and removed from work. Such a case inflicted damage also on the authority of the party organ.

The time that has elapsed after the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum clearly differentiated between executives at the local level. Theoretically one can single out three groups among them. To the first belong those who are acting independently and energetically and are confidently going forward. To the second--those who in general are coping with their obligations, but, as they say, are working circumspectly: "But am I not hurrying too fast?" And to the third--obvious dependants, who both worked and are working in the old way, not doing anything for the reorganization.

Hence the methods of influence which the party obkom applies in the work with management personnel: We aspire to make the experience of the first the achievement of all; the second we help to develop fully, to occupy an appropriate place in the solution of the tasks that are before the collectives, we simply compel them to work as they should. Against parasitic smugness we fight with all available means: With the force of public opinion, with party influence, and with administrative measures. In a word, in the labor collectives the kind of atmosphere is being created that the manager, who is not able to reorganize, himself understands this and yields his place to a more energetic and active worker.

On the whole, the majority of the management personnel meets the demands made of them by the party. The collectives of the Ustinovo Radio Plant (director: V. Shutov, secretary of the party committee: V. Samkov) and the Votkinsk Machine Building Plant (director: V. Sadovnikov, secretary: A. Palyanov) approach the utilization of the created production potential thoughtfully and wisely. Here they have attentively investigated the state of affairs in every shop, in every sector, and they have calculated what an increase in the workload of highly productive equipment and the transition to a two- and three-shift work regime will bring. After careful investigation it turned out that the necessity of the construction of new production buildings has passed, which will make it possible for the collectives to increase the construction of apartment houses and social, cultural and consumer projects.

But in the practice of work the examples are frequent where behind the external well-being there is concealed the psychology of the so-called "marginalists" [predelshchiki]. In essence this is conduct unbefitting a member of the party. Let us turn, let us say, to the practice of the Udmurtneft [Udmurt Petroleum]

Association. It carries out the plans and obligations. And nevertheless, restructuring is not evident here. The director of the association, V. Kudinov, reporting on its success, does not see anything special in the fact that the indicators are lower than those of the past year. The secretary of the party organization was also being led by the director. The party obkom buro came out rather sharply against such complacency and ordered the comrades to work out concrete measures guaranteeing the accelerated growth of oil production.

The problem of the growth and formation of executives is constantly at the center of attention of the party committees of the republic. Today many economic managers have gone through a good party hardening, having been secretaries of primary party organizations. This is how the Glazov Party Gorkom brings up cadres. Here the managers skillfully organize the labor of people and base themselves on public organizations, which has a positive effect on the development of the economy and the city economy.

During a crucial period of the reorganization, the oblast party organization moves into the foreground of personnel policy and party guidance of the economy the proposition that it will not be satisfied with the ability which the previous experience produced, but will certainly go farther, will certainly attain more, and will certainly make the transition from easier tasks to more difficult ones. The communists of the republic see their party duty in seeing to it that they persistently master the Leninist creative style of work and that they move out to new frontiers of the socio-economic development of the republic.

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### OPEN LETTER ON NEPOTISM, ABUSES IN OREL OBLAST RAYON

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Jan 87 p 2

[Open Letter by M. Yefremova, agronomist in Orel Oblast: "The Paths of Nepotism: Letter of a Communist Who Decided to Tell the Bitter Truth About the Rayon Executives"]

[Text] This is not the first year that I try through my letters to attract attention to my native rayon. Where all have I not written, and on what doors have I not knocked! Apropos what, you ask? It is more than I can stand to live in an atmosphere of untruth. We have many who are dissatisfied with what is happening in the rayon, who want to live and work honestly and conscientiously and take an active part in restructuring, if it ever starts in our rayon.

Who knows, perhaps my opinions seem too harsh to some, but I am deeply convinced: The whole issue lies in the party raykom, and above all in its first secretary, Ye. Mikhaylov. For more than 10 years he has been working in our rayon as first secretary, prior to that he was for as long a time in other executive rayon posts. Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, without exaggeration, is the "master" of the rayon, without him not a single personnel appointment or removal takes place. The overwhelming majority of rayon executives were personally selected by him, moreover on the basis of a sign of devotion, friendly relations, or kinship ties [rodstvennost]. . .

Let us assume someone among the appointees [dolzhantsy] wants to make a remark about how the raykomkhoz [city district department of municipal services] or the Administration of Communications are working in our rayon (and they are working poorly), and he turns directly to the first secretary of the raykom. There will be no principled decision. Yevgeniy Nikolayevich will not offend the managers of these organizations, Ye. Borodin and V. Borodina, relatives by marriage. His brother I. Mikhaylov and wife and his niece work in the rayispolkom in responsible positions. It is also useless to go to the raykom with a complaint, let us say, for lack of attention to the patient on the part of the managers of the rayon hospital. The head physician, V. Pavlov, is a friend of the former, and the ruling clique of the hospital includes the wife, sister, and niece of Ye. Mikhaylov. In his turn, the brother of the head physician V. Pavlov is a responsible official in the party raykom. More than a dozen and a half relatives of Yevgeniy Nikolayevich and his wife occupy posts in the rayon organs of power.

The other leaders of the rayon, too, try not to lag behind. Let us say, the secretary of the party raykom, R. Chebotkova, placed her own sister, G. Zhironkina, under her wing as an instructor, her first cousin, O. Galiguzova, is the deputy chairman of the rayispolkom. The brother-in-law [zyat] of Galiguzova is the chairman of the rayon committee of people's control.

True, the question may arise: But suppose they all, i. e., the relatives who are in power, are capable and talented people, and their leading position is really necessary in such a massive way and is justified by life? To speak the truth, we, the people of Dolgoye, do not notice any talents in them: Neither organizational, nor creative, nor moral talents. With the exception, perhaps, of one talent, which is brilliantly expressed: The ability to arrange their own personal affairs. To take, as it were, private residences which are like a thorn in one's flesh in Dolgoye. Whatever they are interested in is theirs for the taking.

The "self-service store" [sam] provided an example here. Next to it, in a private residence, lives the head physician, V. Pavlov. Side by side with Ye. Mikhaylov, his nephew, B. Makashov, the chief agronomist of the Iskra Kolkhoz, built a house for himself. To put it more correctly, the department for municipal services [komkhoz] erected the house for him. Naturally, the director of this organization did not forget about himself, as well as his son, the chief of the children's room in the rayon department for internal affairs. For him, too, they erected a house.

The brother of the "first" [secretary], I. Mikhaylov, erected mansions on the green outskirts of the settlement. There, there is a whole street of private residences for the "elect". Among them are the properties of the current leaders, as well as those who have failed--those who have gotten burnt and those who have compromised themselves. Like N. Makshov, N. Uvarov, L. Savelyeva, Yu. Gaykalov. . . . The chairman of the rayispolkom, V. Sokolov (for two) has a new house [domina] with dimensions larger than the editorial offices of the rayon newspaper. And they put in a townhouse for him which is the envy of everyone.

Do not misunderstand, we, it goes without saying, are not against high-quality and comfortable housing. Who would not like to have it? But somehow it turns out that, of the approximately 17 private residences that have sprung up in our settlement in the last 2 years, not a single one belongs to an ordinary man, but all to the leaders of the rayon and their entourage. For them, building materials in short supply, state builders, and free-lancers [shabashniki] are found. We already do not say anything about the other benefits which they extract, making use of their power and their official position. It is not difficult to imagine what sort of a psychology has developed in this milieu and how it influences the Dolgoye residents. Instead of adherence to party principles and the honor of the communist, other criteria and rules of living are valued in it. Relations are cultivated which divide people into "our people" and "strangers". To "ours"--posts, cushy jobs and material benefits, but the rest, they say, let them hold their tongue.

For many years they really did hold their tongue. They saw, they heard, and they knew, but they discussed things aloud only in their kitchens. Now there

is a different frame of mind. They are talking in the open. Of course, in the rayon center, where there are thousands of inhabitants, news is found out instantly. Was it worthwhile, for example, for the chairman of the rayispolkom, V. Sokolov, and the chairman of the Rayon Agroindustrial Association, A. Fomin, to write a document, addressed to the oblast procurator, defending and praising N. Uvarov, as many found out about in Dolgoye? Who is this Uvarov? Why are they defending him in spite of the facts discrediting him and in spite of the opinion of people?

In his time, he worked in one of the sovkhoses of our rayon, then he left for the neighboring Lipetsk Oblast. But having slipped up there, he returned to his native part of the world. They took him as an instructor in the party raykom (for what services?), and after a short period he was appointed manager of the Rayon Agricultural Equipment Association. It was precisely here that Uvarov developed. He began with the construction of private residences, naturally for himself and his retinue. From bad to worse, he began to enjoy it. Together with the chief engineer, A. Yesinalin, the deputy for economy, Ch. Putilina, and the chief accountant, L. Savelyeva, the new manager contrived for two years to report for himself sham work for many hundreds of thousands of rubles.

A documentary audit, conducted by the head of the subdivision of the oblast agroindustrial complex [agroprom], V. Konovalov, revealed that for the year 1985 alone the padding came to 357,000 rubles. Apart from the bonus for the fake, more than 2,000 rubles were paid to dummy workers. It is not known where a standard house with a value of about 3,000 rubles disappeared.

What was the final outcome? Having felt that the affair is not turning out to their advantage, A. Yesinalin and Ch. Putilina quickly left the Orel area. And N. Uvarov, with a severe reprimand of the party . . . , occupied the chair of chief of the Agricultural Equipment Association; L. Savelyeva was changed over to the animal husbandry complex as chief accountant. And the oblast procuracy gave up on the nearly started criminal case.

Here is still another case from the same series. Literally the other day, a court investigation involving the case of a group of bribe-takers was concluded under the chairmanship of the rayon people's judge M. Borodina, who in the not too distant past was the second secretary of the party raykom. The essence, briefly, is as follows. In 1985, I. Lyutikov, the director of the Luganskiy Sovkhoz, a candidate for membership in the raykom of the CPSU, with the assistance of his subordinates--the agronomists I. Maslov and V. Maslov--bribed the head of the Studenovskiy Beet-Collecting Center, A. Pripachkin, and other inspectors, and these people, for a bribe of 5,107 rubles, credited the farm with 6,000 quintals of supposedly delivered beets. Through fraud the plan was "overfulfilled", for which Lyutikov received 974 rubles in bonuses, and the sovkhos specialists--9,557 rubles. The entire settlement now is outraged: Severe punishment, as in the case of bribe-takers and bribe-givers, was imposed, but with delayed execution for 2 years. A usual subterfuge, by the way, for our Dolgoye. For example, the chief engineer of the Road Repair and Construction Administration [DRSU], V. Kurdyukov, beat up a guard and smashed window glass in the office: He was very drunk. So he was sentenced to 3 years deprivation of freedom with 2 years deferment and calmly continues to work in his previous post. . . .

Believe me, it is bitter for me and makes me feel ashamed to cite these facts, which are offensive to the rayon and for honest and industrious people, but where do you go? Padding, deception, and the squandering of the people's wealth. Cattle losses, the writing off of unharvested fields, the sowing with unconditioned seed, fraud in the construction by "free-lancers". . . . In the rayon there are a total of 30 kolkhozes and sovkhazes, the soils are the most fertile in the Orel region--natural Chernozem soils, but, unfortunately, scanty harvests are gathered from them. The rayon could be put in order: So that the harvest and the milk yield would be high, and the cattle would not be kept half-starving. . . .

Instead of this, we, the people of Dolgoye, are living in an atmosphere of constant anxiety. Then we find out about the case: Court proceedings against one group, against another.

Why are there so many such "incidents"? It seems to me, for the simple reason that the leaders of the rayon, instead of showing zeal for state and public problems and affairs, attend, above all, to their own. They build private residences, they have become bogged down in blood relationships and relations and bonds involving friends. How can they, as people love to put it in our country, make demands of their subordinates, if they themselves are not irreproachable? Really, let us say, will a person go to the deputy chairman of the rayispolkom, A. Timokhin, for assistance or advice? You see, being the second secretary of the party raykom, he conducted himself, to put it mildly, improperly, about which the whole settlement knows. Not long ago, they transferred him to a chair a bit lower, but how he was he also remained. And how many "rescued" and "transferred", like him, we have in our settlement.

In the end we must realize that people are not small children. They understand very well what is what and they see perfectly well how window-dressing, deception, and lack of principles are working destructively in our rayon society. Three times I, as a communist party member, tried to come to the first raykom secretary, Ye. Mikhaylov, and be received in order to tell him my thoughts, experiences, and anxieties. He did not receive me. But that is understandable. What measures could he take against himself in the final analysis? . . .

I acted in accordance with the Statute of the CPSU. I appealed to the raykom--no use. To the Orel Party Obkom--again no reassuring reaction. This is why I am writing to the newspaper: We will finally have to awaken our out-of-the-way place of Orel from its lethargy, help it to cleanse itself from the slime and filth that have accumulated over many years, and lead it on the straight road of reconstruction.

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### EXPEDITION TO URALS, NORTH FINDS DISREGARD FOR ENVIRONMENT

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23, 24, 26, 31 Dec 86

[Articles by Sergey Solovyev, expedition leader, under rubric "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's Urals Expedition"]

[23 Dec 86, pp 1-2, "Gullies in the Tundra"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Excerpts] Today we begin publishing the materials that were prepared on the basis of the results of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's Urals Expedition, which took place from March through September of this year and extended from the Kara Sea to the Caspian Sea. During the difficult trip, that covered 10,000 kilometers, the expedition participants held 243 conferences in 112 cities and settlements, and studied the peculiarities of the development of the regions through which their itinerary took them, as well as the workers' working and living conditions. The observations in the course of the expedition have become the basis of the series that we now offer for our readers' attention.

Through the blizzard, on the other side of the hill, one can see the shepherd nomads' camp of the Druzhba Narodov Kolkhoz. Avgusta Yefimovna, wife of brigade leader Kanev, invites us into the tent for a cup of tea. Kanev himself has just returned from an unsuccessful hunt. As he tells the story, he cannot keep from making a wry joke.

"Soon there won't be anything left in the tundra but crows and wolves. The 'conquerors' of the North will find everything that is alive..."

This reproach, directed against the "conquerors," was heard repeatedly, like an echo, in all the reindeer ranch in the territory.

The study of the northern part of the Urals began comparatively recently, but the geological information gives the right to speak of the need for a comprehensive program for assimilating its riches even now, at the initial stage of computing them in the North. Construction workers, petroleum workers, and gas workers have flooded into the tundra from all parts of the country. The famous special-effort group has overfilled the railroad

stations, airports, hotels... Between the hosts and the newcomers, willingly or unwillingly, a social contrast forms. And that contrast is rather morbid, and at times of a conflict nature.

Not far from the Druzhba Narodov Kolkhoz, in Nenets Autonomous Okrug, snowmobiles came upon a half-ruined oil rig with rusty pressure regulators and diesel engines. The Vorkuta petroleum prospectors told us the name of the dead derrick -- Saremboy-1. It had been discarded by their expedition more than ten years ago. The geologists, as they left the place, were supposed to put things in order and turn over the renewed land to the kolkhoz. But they haven't even moved a finger yet.

The farther we traveled from the shores of the Kara Sea, the more devastation the eye noticed: the land showed the scars and scabs where it had been torn asunder.

Who, then, will worry about the tundra? Who will help to bring vegetation back to the ravines, to clear the land of the construction trash, pipes, iron rods, and wire that injure the reindeer? We direct those questions to the party organizer of the Druzhba Narodov Kolkhoz, Nenets A. Dvoynikova, because, for reindeer herders, this is their native land. They are the ones who, first of all, should take care of the land that provides them with food.

"They take the land from us without asking us," the secretary says painfully. "The rig is already operating at full capacity before they come to formalize the right of way. We want our interests to be taken into consideration. We want to be given the opportunity to use the ruble to punish anyone guilty of seizing kolkhoz land. And this pertains not only to organizations, but also to individuals. People who come here do not realize what damage they are causing to the land and to the indigenous population."

On the other side of the Urals Range, Valentina Aleksandrovna Vakhnina, director of the Rossiya Sovkhoz, is a person who is well known on the Yamal Peninsula: she has been on the same sovkhos for 30 years. She began the discussion by stating the same problem.

"Today, among the reindeer breeders, the most frequently used words are 'yesya sekhery' ('railroad'). I know that construction workers are considering six alternative versions of the Labytnangi-Kharasavey railroad. But the people who live on that land are not asked which alternative would be most convenient for them. And yet we expect a lot from the railroad. The alternative selected may be one which, even if everyone else leaves the tundra, could be extended in such a way as to serve the further social and economic development of the sovkhos."

Managers tried to understand and explain what has been occurring on their land, but in general everything came down to the opinion: the "conquerors" of the North behave in the tundra in an inefficient, irresponsible manner. They are interested only in the plan, and that bare departmental interest, for the indigenous Northerners, protrudes like a malignant tumor.

The reindeer breeders' pastures and hunting grounds are melting. Recently the total area of just the reindeer pastures in three okrugs decreased by 6.5 million hectares -- this is 15 percent of their area. Incidentally, the actual damage is much greater. The people connected with industrial construction do not take into consideration the standards pertaining to the granting of rights of way. With their vehicles, they form ruts on the entire tundra around the drilling rig, and also build various structures on the periphery of that area -- temporary mobile homes, warehouses -- and an area 5 times greater disappears.

We must admit that at first we were surprised by the position taken by the administrators of the farms and the ispolkoms of the local soviets. Why can't they use their authority, why can't they at least require the guilty individuals, through the court, to pay compensation for the damage? Oh, it would be best not to mention the word "compensation" in the presence of Northerners. This word acts on them like a dentist's drill on an aching tooth. That which the law calls compensation for spoiled land is only a small amount, after accepting which the sovkhoz or kolkhoz assumes the impossible obligations of restoring the land.

To the extent that the enterprise takes land for its needs, it receives money from the government for compensation expenses. That is, the people involved in industrial construction make settlement for the land by taking money from the government's pocket, without losing anything themselves. Why, then, must the reindeer breeders restore the land, rather than those who have spoiled it? This also is a vicious principle. Moreover, without specialists, without equipment, without fertilizers, but by using only money, it is impossible to grow even grass. But the reindeer do not eat grass. It takes hundreds of years to restore the reindeer moss. But the sovkhoz does not have the right to spend that money for other needs. So what are they supposed to do with the money? Just let it lie around unused?...

Therefore, on the Yamal Peninsula, the farm managers do not even formalize the transfer of their land, because, in the final analysis, no one can be forced to pay on the basis of long-term obligations. But are we really to believe that it is simply a piece of land that the farms are losing? They are losing a source of existence--pastures, hunting areas. Moreover, the inhabitants of these places are losing the most important thing -- their sense of being the owners of their land, the opportunity to engage in their customary practices, to engage in labor which has inspired them to live and to sing songs. And that is something that the "conquerors" of the North frequently fail to notice. Or, rather, they do not want to notice, because that is advantageous for them.

As we visited drilling rigs and industrial enterprises, we frequently heard complaints to the effect that they were working under such complicated conditions to produce petroleum and gas, but the local farms were resisting the progressive assimilation of the North.

No, a true Northerner resists not progress, but haste and lack of planning in the assimilation of his native land. Finally, let's see what the Northerners' true losses are, and what kind of compensation they are asking for.

What constitutes the basis of the economy of the peoples of the North today? First of all, reindeer. Reindeer breeding provided tremendous profit. Compare the cost of a single chicken bred in the North, and a reindeer. The cost is the same -- 12 rubles. If we undermine reindeer breeding, it will become necessary to ship meat to the North. Many hunters and reindeer breeders still keep their personal herds. For them, reindeer provide transportation, food, clothing, and the materials for making their nomadic home. And also included in the price are fur-bearing animals, small game, birds, and fish. All this goes to make up the total family income, without which the indigenous population could not survive in the tundra.

The influence exerted upon the life of the inhabitants of the tundra by the industrial enterprises could be left unsaid, but... For example, the Labytnangi-Kharasavey railroad is under construction. A corridor two kilometers wide has been set aside for it. But the polar fox will disappear in a 30-kilometer zone. It is frightened by the noise of equipment and by the workers. The people who come here are killing the wild animals indiscriminately. They shoot at anything that comes within the range of a rifle bullet. Drivers of all-terrain vehicles have learned how to drive the polar fox out of his burrow by the smoke from their exhaust pipes. But after they do that, the burrow will remain empty for decades. In recent years the population of Yamal Peninsula has increased by a factor 10, and you can figure out how many more fishermen there are today. The fish are caught by the newcomers who, of course, do not take the natural reproduction into consideration as the Nentsy, Komi, and Khanty have always done.

In the behavior of the person involved in the construction of an industrial enterprise, one can see clearly the actions of a temporary person who is not planning to live in these places for a long time.

In the Northerners' opinion, the unaccounted losses from every kind of wanton activity of the "temporary people" are so considerable that they exceed even the damage from the reduction of the pastures. But whereas the farms receive at least something in exchange for the spoiled land, absolutely no provision is made for compensating the damages borne by the person living on it.

It is obvious to everyone that the rural farms themselves cannot cope with these tasks. Therefore the local soviets have been talking for a long time not about compensations for the land, but about the need for compensatory construction. The restoration of the fertile layer of the land must be carried out not by the hunters and reindeer breeders, but by specialized organizations, using the funds provided by those ministries that accept that land for temporary use. The ministries that receive land from the sovkhoses must be given the responsibility of constructing consumer-goods bases, housing, and production shops in settlements where the people who have been forced against their will to leave the tundra can engage in their customary activities, for example, the processing of secondary raw materials provided by reindeer: by-products, reindeer horns, chamois... Moreover, the compensatory construction, whatever it pertains to -- housing, bases, enterprises -- must be carried out on a planned basis, with the allocation of the necessary funds and financial limits.



All the recommendations that we heard cannot be discussed in a single article. Moreover, I do not even know all of them. But what I do know forces me to demand: let's talk about the unpaid debts to the Northerners. Good and loud! And not just talk!

Yes, our forward movement to the ocean shore promises us petroleum and gas, minerals and raw metals... In a word, it is not a question of what to take, but a question of how to take it, at what cost. Logic and economic desirability suggest that we must work with a consideration of the past lessons, and must begin to build a Northern home not from the roof, but from the foundation in the ground. We must reinterpret the procedure for compensatory expenses. We must approach them with a modern way of planned, comprehensive thinking. But K. I. Mironov, former First Secretary of the party's Yamal-Nenets Okrug committee, who worked in the North more than two decades before retiring recently, tells us, "At the present time a general plan for the building up of West Siberia is being prepared. I am somewhat surprised to learn that the plan has actually been worked out carefully, and the interests of all the ministries have been taken into consideration, but not the interests of the indigenous Northerners. In the plans for the next few years not a single ministry has planned complete compensation for the damages incurred by the peoples of the North."

The task of assimilating the new territories of the Urals, Siberia, and the Far East without the conscious and overall participation of all the inhabitants of the North -- both the hosts and the newcomers -- cannot be resolved quickly or completely.

The populated areas of the North have well-tested, modern technological schemes for pasturing the reindeer. It is possible to reconcile the oil field and the pastures, to raise the petroleum or gas pipeline, and to select a railroad bed that is as far away as possible from the nomadic paths. The expenses that have increased for one department are compensated by the fact that we people in the North will still have meat, fish, birds... and also will still have comfort and consent in our large Russian home. But the most important thing is to take care of this land, to nurture the sense that we are all owners of it. Then man's song, the song of the Nenets, will continue to be heard for a long and happy time in the mountains of the Urals.

[24 Dec 86 p 2, "Discarded Waste Heaps"]

[Excerpts] In Perm Oblast, on the approach to Solikamsk, our motorcycles bumped into light-colored mounds -- the waste heaps at salt mines. These are the waste products from the activity of the 1st Mining Administration, USSR Minudobreniy [Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production]. We put some of the white crystals on our tongue -- they tasted of salt.

Near the city of Polevskoy there are strictly contoured fields of fluorogypsum waste products. It is a dead zone. The acid burns every living thing, and for a long time nothing has grown in this place. And heaven forbid that the poisonous chemicals will break through and seep into the river!

Who could count how many areas in the Urals are occupied by waste products? There are no such calculations. But even so, it is obvious that those figures are astronomical, because the slag-heaps contain billions and billions of tons. Judge for yourself: in Solikamskiy Rayon there is an accumulation of 205 million tons of salts in the waste products. And even that figure is approximate, because every year the rain washes away part of the waste heaps.

In the Solikamsk museum we learn, with some surprise, that in bygone times there were almost no waste products of this salt here. Our ancestors considered it possible and profitable to purify table salt not only to technical specifications, but also to edible ones, because 93 percent of what is discarded today to be washed away by the rain is table salt, that very kind of salt that used to be shipped from Solikamsk for sale to all parts of Russia.

Just one-third of the ore is used, and the rest is dumped onto the waste heaps that have clustered around the plants and the cities. The waste heaps put salt into the soil and poison every living thing on the path straight to the Kama River. Scientists at the Perm State University state that the salt solution in the water of the Kama has reached such a concentration that it destroys dams and all other hydraulic structures as far as the mouth of the Volga. Twenty million tons of table salt, which is precisely the country's annual need, is discarded annually. But the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, despite the protests by scientists, continues to scrape out Lake Baskunnak, because today's interests override for them the interests of our children and grandchildren.

What kind of science is this? Where are the recommendations for technological schemes with no waste products, or for the complete use of the raw materials? The Institute of Mineral-Salt Production, which engages in problems of the Solikamsk waste products, belongs to USSR Minudobreniy. Therefore it is interested in everything that pertains only to potassium fertilizers. They are interested in the completeness of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, from the ore, but as for everything else, branch science proposes hiding it, putting it out of one's sight, and now, every year, four million tons of table salt are pumped back into mines. Moreover, the cost of extracting one ton is approximately 3 rubles, and hiding one ton in the ground costs no less than 1.60 rubles. So isn't it better, having overcome the departmental protests, to go ahead anyway and create production with the comprehensive use of the raw materials? Because 205 million tons of salt on the surface also represent very valuable raw materials.

The extraction of ores in the Solikamsk-Berezniki production center has been increasing and, according to specialists' forecasts, by the end of the century the waste heaps will contain 440 million tons. Moreover, the Solikamsk salt ores contain not only potassium fertilizers and table salt, but also other valuable components -- a total of 26 elements.

The waste products of bauxite ores also contain a large amount of valuable minerals. The amount of red mud currently at two Urals plants alone is approximately 50 million tons. They can be added to the burden when sintering the ore in ferrous metallurgy.. The Institute of Metallurgy and the Institute

of Chemistry, UNTs [Urals Scientific Center], USSR Academy of Sciences, have developed a technical-economic substantiation and have shown the effectiveness of processing them, but things have not progressed farther than that. The reason is the departmental attitude.

Removing the red fields from the face of the earth would, by itself, be a tremendous advantage. They occupy hundreds of hectares of land, they destroy the forest and vegetation, and they cause money to be expended. At the Urals Aluminum Plant, the area of the mud fields soon will reach 250 hectares. The cost of constructing them is approximately 30 million rubles. A plant for making the complete use of the red muds would cost 2-3 times more, but that plant would not only rid us of the waste products, but would also provide useful output. One ton of the red mud, according to a technological scheme developed by scientists, would produce 112 kilograms of the alumina needed in construction, 18 kilograms of alkali, 312 kilograms of pig iron, and half a ton of raw-material component for cement. These are figures provided by the All-Union Aluminum-Magnesium Institute. There have been recommendations from the institutes of UNTs, USSR Academy of Sciences, concerning the production, from red muds, of rare-earth elements, but there has been no practical resolution of this question either. One can extract from the red muds a dye and that very floor paint that we can never find for sale anywhere for refurbishing our apartments, and one can also make glazed tiles.

Twenty million tons of the most harmful fluorogypsum waste products that have been accumulated by the South Urals Cryolite Plant have killed the environment around Polevskoy for centuries. The oblast sanitation and epidemiological station has stated firmly that not a single meter more will be used for the mud fields. But posing the question and resolving it are two different things. Apparently the plant management is counting on the fact that, when it comes to resolving the critical question as to whether the enterprise should be closed or the environment should be saved, the choice will be made in their favor.

There have also been positive, albeit infrequent and shy, attempts to resolve the problem of the gigantic heaps of waste products in the Urals. In Krasnoturinsk, iron ore used to be extracted from the Severopeschanaya Mine, and individual batches used to contain copper. But isolating it requires additional expenditures and means reducing the indicators for the entire branch. The resolution of the question stretched out for 15 years, and finally it would seem that it is planned to build a copper concentration factory. And it would seem that it will be very simple -- the copper has already been mined, so you just have to take it.

Of course, the expedition participants were unable to see all the waste products at the Urals enterprises, much less to learn the possible prospects for using them.

You cannot mention everything, but if one is to judge the problem as a whole, one would scarcely think that it can be resolved without changing the branch principle of evaluating the usefulness of the raw materials and of extracting profit from it.

The responsibility for the disfigured land lies primarily on the specific enterprise managers. They, first of all, must see this problem, must seek ways to resolve it, and must strive to have the ministries support their actions.

Probably, in order for the raw materials to be completely used, with the maximum effectiveness, it is necessary not only to make demands on the enterprise managers in this regard. Methods of roughshod administration by fiat, we have been convinced, provide at best a positive but not optimal result. It is necessary to put the enterprise in such economic conditions that their complete use will be beneficial both for the country as a whole, and for the particular plant and every person working there.

Scientists, in particular, propose to USSR Gosplan the creation in the country of a single raw-materials ministry or a mining industry ministry. It is not the name that is important. What is important is that the ministry would extract the ore, would split it into components, and transfer it to the consumer ministries. It would have an interest in the complete use of the raw materials, and the extraction of the maximum profit from it. Many extractive enterprises would become unnecessary, and there would be an economizing not only of raw materials, but also of equipment, energy, fuel, and labor resources.

I. D. Kazanets just yesterday stood at the helm of the very complicated branch of industry that is called, among ordinary people, heavy: Heavy in the literal and in the figurative sense. People have thought intensively several times about the problem in ferrous metallurgy that was raised by the newspaper. Of course, the creation of such a gigantic branch as the mining branch is a colossal restructuring. But the benefit can also be considerable. The situation has its pluses and its minuses. The raw materials, of course, will be used completely, but won't the mining branch subsume the processing ministries? I remember how many times we asked Minpribor [Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems] for the apparatus that we needed, and they answered, "We don't have the funds for creating it," and that was the end of the discussion.

Until that tremendous ministry gets on its feet, it is also possible to inflict harm on the consumers. How many years will go by? There is still another path -- or, more precisely, another step -- toward the resolution of the problem of the complete use of raw materials -- for every deposit USSR Gosplan should make a separate resolution. Without additional funds it is impossible for an enterprise to change over from single-component to complete use of raw materials.

In a word, we did not find a ready-made plan for resolving the problem. But that problem is very disquieting for our readers. Therefore we feel that the discussion concerning waste products and expenses is not finished. We await the answers from all the institutions that were mentioned here, as well as recommendations from specialists.



[Extracts] The rivers in the Urals have been a source of life for many generations of Russian people. In the west they feed the Mother Volga, the Caspian drainage area, and a tremendous part of the Central Russian valley, and in the east, the gigantic Ob-Irtysh system. They are everything -- providers of food and water, transporters, and... inspirers of the Muses. That's right! The rivers carry within themselves a particle of each of us and will never have, for a person, only utilitarian significance. Communion with our beautiful rivers and rapid streams has been an important factor in our spiritual development, and the formation of our national character.

For a modern person, meetings with nature, essentially speaking, are unfortunately becoming increasingly infrequent. Perhaps that is why the attitude toward our beloved environment is becoming more consumer-oriented--because of the failure to understand that we and our environment are inseparable. And only consuming it is nothing else but "Samoyedism" ["self-cannibalism"].

As we traveled through the Urals we encountered "Samoyeds" like this on the entire path measuring 10,000 kilometers. They were not wearing clothing made of reindeer hides and fur parkas, but, rather, were wearing snow-white shirts and finely made suits. We also saw them in their work smocks and, strange to say, there were a few people who were inclined to see in their work clothes a kind of mandate for all-forgiveness.

The inhabitants of the Urals, in numerous letters and at meetings with the expedition, point out convincingly that not only will there be no forgiving for "Samoyeds" like this, but also in principle there cannot be any.

The bottomlands and salt-marsh system of the Ob provide for half the catch of whitefish in the RSFSR. Their reproduction is proceeding chiefly in the Urals tributaries: the Sob, Lyapin, Khuiga, Many, Shchekurya, Northern Sosva... The fatality rate of the roe is surprisingly low here: only 10 percent. This is the result of the unique purity of the water.

But then our expedition arrived at the Sob River. The inhabitants of the Katrovozh settlements -- Nentsy, Komi, Khanty -- met us with an assembly decision in their hands. The decision contains the following words: "Since time immemorial, our ancestors lived here. But now misfortune has come to our beautiful Sob..."

And that misfortune was brought by the builders of the reinforced-concrete articles plant of USSR Mingazprom [Ministry of the Gas Industry]. They dump petroleum products into the water, and have been taking the sand that is needed for construction purposes from the bottom of the river, a river that serves as a natural incubator that supplements the fish reserves of the Ob area. The water has now become muddy and has been covered with a thick film of petroleum, and one can even smell petroleum in the air. The gulls have flown away... "It is incomprehensible to us why it is possible to take such a

barbarous attitude toward the environment, or to show such insensitive stupidity toward the people in our settlement" -- that is how the assembly message presented to the newspaper ends.

The Saranpul Geological Prospecting Expedition of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug dumped into the Lyapin River an entire railroad tank car of solar oil. All the fish that were caught by fishermen smelled of solar oil, and the fishermen were forced to buy the fish themselves. But that does not make things any easier either for the fish or for the people whose livelihood depends on fish.

For the Yamalo-Nenetsk Autonomous Okrug alone, there is an annual loss in production of 3300 tons of very valuable fish -- not pike and perch, but varieties of whitefish: "muksun" and "pelyad." Because of the pollution of the rivers, the famous Sosva herring has almost disappeared, and for 15 years the "taymen" salmon disappeared in the Voykar and Sob rivers and has become a rarity in all the other rivers. This is in the northern part of the Urals.

Having crossed over the range into the Western Urals, our motorcycles were rattling along a country road that was well traveled by cart wheels. Suddenly the road came up against a wall of fog. Our headlights pierced a narrow chink in that wall, patches of the fog parted, and the picture that was revealed made us gasp. The entire river -- from bank to bank -- was crammed with logs that were rearing back and jutting up into the air. For kilometer after kilometer, we had been accompanied by that immovable wooden river that is doomed to rot for many years.

"This is the Yazva," Antonida Petrovna Zabolotnykh explained to us, with her face turned to stone. For 14 years she had worked as the chairman of the Krasnovishnerskiy Rayon ispolkom in Perm Oblast. "For many years we have been fighting the logging enterprises. The floating of individual logs [instead of log rafts] was forbidden long ago on the small rivers in our rayon. But here's a paradox -- the people who receive a salary for protecting the river annually issue the loggers authorizations to float individual logs by using the well-known formulation 'by way of an exception.' The last time this happened, it was done by V. Solovyev, the chief inspector of the Kama Basin Territorial Administration for the Regulation, Use, and Protection of Water Resources, and V. Latypov, deputy chief of the Kama-Urals Basin Administration for the Protection and Reproduction of Fish Reserves. As a result, in recent time several thousand families have left the rayon, and the size of the population here has dropped from 31,000 persons to 29,000.

At the concluding stage of the route -- along the Ural River -- we were joined by schoolchildren from Sverdlovsk who belong to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's Polar Expedition Club. The children made a census of springs (a count of them had not been made since 1937), made measurements, took water samples... At night they listened to stories told by oldtimers about how the Cossacks guarded the entire community and protected Father Ural. The young boys and girls, of course, compared what they had heard with what they saw today. Thousands of pipes have been inserted into the river and are drinking it practically down to the bottom, and water is flowing indiscriminately onto the fields. Metal combines, without embarrassment, are spewing poison into the river...

In the south, on the Ural River, this is the situation: whereas in the 1970's the fish catch here was 100,000 quintals of sturgeon and 60,000 quintals of valuable semimigratory species of fish, at the present time the sturgeon catch, despite all the environmental-protection measures, has fallen to 55,000 quintals a year, and it has become necessary to ban completely the catching of fish with fine-mesh nets. And yet the Ural River is the spawning ground for the Caspian school of sturgeon, which produces 80 percent of the world's catch of that fish.

The Pechora salmon has already been mentioned in our newspaper. Other rivers where fish have become rare are the Kama, the Irtysh, the Tobol... In a word, there isn't a single river in the Urals that could be eliminated from this black list of "unpromising" rivers. And yet the rivers are not a factory or a combine, but are a very large conglomeration of combines for the reproduction of very valuable species of fish.

It is strange that there is any fish industry there at all -- many rivers in the Urals not only stopped providing us with food long ago, but also stopped providing us with drinking water. And in the industrially developed mining zone the maximum admissible concentrations of harmful substances have been surpassed on many occasions.

The pollution stretched out for centuries here, but this considerable experience was not taken into consideration when the new territories were being mastered. This is especially important for the North, where natural biochemical purification is a prolonged process and artificial purification is so expensive that it will be beyond our financial means.

Take the events of the current year. On the path of the railroad from Labytna . to Kharasavey there arose the very picturesque Ob tributary, the Vylposl, which used to provide food and water for the population and which, properly speaking, gave birth to that population. Building a bridge across it would mean a delay of a month, if not more. At the Yamaltransstroy Association it is decided that it would be simpler to fill up the Vylposl with dirt, and no matter how much the Labytnangi city ispolkom protested to the construction workers and no matter how much it threatened them with penalties, what good did it do? In a single moment the city proved to be on the bank of a tremendous bottomland pit. The construction workers even refused to lay pipes under the dirt they dumped in, so that the killed stream could at least breathe a little.

V. Burdin, the manager of the board of directors of the enterprises that are under construction in the gas industry, told us without embarrassment, "One way or another, we are going to turn over this sector of the road for activation. There are so many administrative levels interested in it, that they'll say, 'We wish you the best of luck!'"

Of course, not everyone works that way. For example, on the Northern Ural, enterprises of USSR Mintsvetmet [Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy] themselves made a proposal to the Institute of Ecology for cooperation. On the Many River, on the recommendation of scientists, they had to build six settling

areas, and they completely left the Nyarta-yu tributary in order not to damage a river where fish spawn. But this exception only confirms the picture of a critical situation everywhere.

Many of our rivers have already been drained dry by industry. That is, their qualitative exhaustion is followed by physical disappearance. The alarm concerning the fate of the rivers in the Urals is being sounded louder and louder. What must be done to save them? Where will the money come from to enable man to pay Mother Nature back on his debts that go back many years?

It is necessary simply to take a respectful attitude toward water and to view it as a very valuable natural mineral. It is necessary to distribute water in a planned manner, as we do with timber, coal, petroleum, electrical energy... It is necessary to give water a single owner, who will take its quantity into consideration, will keep an eye on its quality, will distribute it on the basis of quotas among the users, will monitor its intelligent, thrifty use, and, most important, will receive, in exchange for water, its true cost.

Like any other mineral, water must bring income to the government. But it is not the budget that should feed the water service, but, rather, the water users. Our chief water user is industry, and the second is agriculture. And you and I stand only in third place (far from the first two). But this is payment made today. Private individuals are charged kopecks for one cubic meter (the rate varies in different places). But for industry the payment is fractions of a kopeck per cubic meter, that is, the payment is extremely conventional. Absolutely nothing is taken from agriculture.

In a number of European countries, the cost of pure water is equal to the cost of mineral water. In our country a draft version has been proposed for a law that proposes establishing the price of a cubic meter of water at 50 kopecks, and for the use of water in excess of the established quota, 2.5 rubles. The draft was not adopted, and it is a pity that it wasn't.

If only this procedure were in effect the people at industrial enterprises would have an interest both in introducing those technological schemes and in saving water. But for the time being the agriculture in the Urals does not think at all about this (I am making this assumption from what we saw on our trip), and out of the industrial enterprises one can mention as an example of a good water user only one -- the Verkh-Isetskiy Metallurgical Plant in Sverdlovsk.

[31 Dec 86, "At the Seven Larches"]

[Excerpts] During the expedition we visited the young cities of West Siberia. What struck us most of all? The scope and the headlong speed of the growth. But there were also a rather large number of disappointments. For years, if not decades, the Northerners have been living and working under conditions that reporters call "an acute shortage of social, cultural, and everyday projects." The typical picture: multistory buildings reach to the sky, the department store windows glisten, but just turn around the corner and you see



a completely different city. It is a one-story, untidy, uncozy city consisting of barracks and trailers. We were frequently struck by that contrast -- the period of "tent romanticism" has obviously been stretched out.

On the Yamal Peninsula alone there are tens of thousands of temporary shacks -- every seventh city dweller is registered either in a patched-up hovel or at best in a trailer. Going into a club or a movie is also a problem. For example, Urengoy has been provided with only one-third the standard number of cultural institutions. In Nadym a ticket to the movie is the same thing as winning a lottery. For a city of several tens of thousands of inhabitants, there is only one movie theater and several projectors. The amount of money spent for constructing cultural projects in the past five-year plan, per person working in the oblast, was one ruble per person! The more than modest plan for activation of those projects has been fulfilled by only 40 percent.

Yes, things are tough for the new construction projects in the petroleum and gas virgin country. Much has been written about the lack of social development in Nizhnevartovsk, Surgut, and Nefteyugansk. So we chose a town that is not so well known -- Labytnangi, which when translated from the Khanty language means "seven larches." People say that at the turn of the centuries, there appeared alongside the seven larches the first hut -- occupied by newcomer Ksenofont Rochev -- and that hut became the start of the settlement. The places here are stern. Penetrating Arctic winds. Bitter winter frosts, and during the summer a swarm of midges.

People were lured to these parts of the country by the scope of what they could accomplish, and the scale of the assimilation. They came to do a job that is extremely necessary to the country. And the price of that is the comfort level. In other words, a city that could, in and of itself, attract people to remote areas. Unfortunately, we are still forced to state that the personnel turnover rate in Labytnangi is high. Several thousands have left at their own request during a year alone. Their reasons? "There isn't any housing" -- every third family is on a waiting list. "We couldn't wait until we got a place for our child in kindergarten." "The cultural and everyday conditions are not satisfactory"... The hospital is crowded into an area that has been poorly adapted for that purpose, and the school has been put on a three-shift basis. The ancient building that houses the only library is falling to pieces... In addition the geologists and the petroleum, gas, and energy workers have subdivided the city into individual homesteads. Every department has its own communication system, its own boilers and sources of electrical energy. It is a picture that was painfully familiar over the entire route traveled by the expedition.

What can we tell these people? How can we give them hope? Can we really believe that Labytnangi has an enviable future? Yes, it is destined to become the base city for the people who are assimilating the Yamal Peninsula. How can its development be planned more intelligently?

"By the end of the century the population in our city will grow until it reaches a figure several times larger than it is now. Taking this into consideration, we have developed a general plan for the development of Labytnangi." L. Ye. Savchenko, deputy chairman of the city ispolkom, opens up

a map and points to the location of new buildings, modern schools, kindergartens... And he continues, "We cannot get along without this, because the people in petroleum and oil fields will be living here as families, and will fly in as a work group."

On paper everything appears to be clear. But how will those plans be implemented? Because in this five-year plan won't it be necessary to build even more projects for social, cultural, and everyday purposes than during the entire existence of Labytnangi? Leonid Yemelyanovich heaves a sigh and answers, "That's a sore question..."

To what extent will the provision of social, cultural, and everyday services be considered "a sore question"? The assimilation of the Tyumen North is taking not a year or two years, but decades. Lessons were provided by the cities in the central Ob district: Nizhnevartovsk, Surgut, Nefteyugansk. What did they teach, and whom did they teach? Unfortunately, the errors are being repeated.

After M. S. Gorbachev made his trip to Tyumen Oblast, the Scientific-Practical Conference on the Assimilation of the Yamal Peninsula, which was organized by Mingazprom [Ministry of the Gas Industry], prepared recommendations concerning the need for the "far-reaching development of the transportation network, and projects for energy supply, housing, and social, cultural, and everyday needs." Those were good recommendations, and currently a definite percentage of the total capital investments is allocated for projects to meet social, cultural, and everyday needs. But as yet there is nothing to say about any further changes.

Every ruble that has been economized by taking it from people, their conveniences, their welfare, and their health, as has been computed by specialists on an interdepartmental USSR Gosplan commission for developing the petroleum and gas complex, results in the loss of four rubles in the production sphere. But no matter how much one attempts to prove this simple truth to the person involved in industrial construction, it never gets through to him. The departments approach the creation of the city with a purely consumer-oriented task -- extract the wealth from this territory.

"Valeriy Petrovich, your people come here with their wives and children. But the gas workers do not have a single kindergarten, do not have a single club, do not have a single school. For example, there's no chance of getting a movie theater. The documentation hasn't been prepared, you say. There isn't any documentation for the railroad either, and yet you're building it," people said, pressing in from all sides on V. P. Burdin, who heads the board of directors of the enterprises under construction in the gas industry.

But just put yourself in Burdin's place and you will understand that the emotions expressed by the round-table participants and the personal responsibility for disrupting the production assignment are completely different things. Actually, no one has yet been relieved of the responsibility for the fact that people are living in temporary housing or that women have no place to go to give birth. That's the long and the short of it. It is for good reason that it has become a tradition at

Glavtyumengasprom to inspect the plans and reveal the fulfillment of assignments for the construction of nonproduction projects in Labytnangi...

More than 70 percent of the laborers and ITR [engineer-technical workers] who were asked by us what had attracted them to the north of Tyumen replies that it was the striving to earn as much as possible, to accumulate money. That is, the task, as you can see, is the very same one -- to get something from the land. Not to improve it, not to populate it.

The thought, sometimes arises that it would be a good idea for plans for concern about people to be established for departments. For example, during the five-year plan it will be necessary to increase the comfort level for the Northerner by so much, to increase spiritual blessings and culture by so much... But then it may be impossible to build the cities like those that we must write about now.

G. A. Burtsev, chairman of the Labytnangi city ispolkom, objects, saying, "No one takes into consideration the fact that many ministries planned to put their major bases here. In addition, petroleum has been found here, the solid-fuel geologists of the Polar-Urals Expedition have discovered deposits of stone coal in the environs of Labytnangi, and interesting material is being accumulated with respect to polymetallic ores and other minerals. Those are the prospects that are opening up, and yet the extent to which the area beyond the Arctic Circle has been studied is, as yet, one-hundredth the extent in the Central Urals."

How, then, does one develop the northern cities? What strategy must there be for assimilating land that is rich in natural resources? We asked many people those questions. This is the most typical opinion: the young cities will develop onesidedly until their fates are resolved by numerous departments. Dozens of them, without coordinating actions with one another, erected Surgut and Nefteyugansk. Now the majority of the Tyumen projects will have to be built by the recently created Ministry for Construction in Areas of the Urals and West Siberia. And the Yamal program will include as a component part the development of Labytnangi. Formally, this would seem to provide all the prerequisites for taking a sharp turn to the better. There is just one problem: for almost all the people engaged in extraction, the construction of the city will continue to be not the chief matter, but a secondary one. Everyone claims that Yamal Peninsula will be taken by a work group, and consequently the city is a heavy and empty burden to them. It is not complicated to predict how this guessing will turn out. When there is a pressing need and time is lost, the departments will rush to organize the very same homesteads.

Can it be that the time has come to reject halfway measures? Wouldn't it be better, as economists have been proposing for a long time, to have a system whereby all the funds and resources for erecting cities and settlements, as well as for developing the capacities of construction organizations, are allocated in a centralized manner and basically into one set of hands? But whose? Various alternatives have been proposed.

But it seems to me that, nevertheless, the prospects are for tomorrow, but today the chief demand must be made specifically of those ministries that have been attracting people to jobs in the North (as applicable to our discussion, the chief customer in Labytnangi is USSR Mingazprom). They are required to finance the construction of projects intended for social, cultural, and everyday needs and to be responsible for the fulfillment of the social program in addition to the production program. And there are arguments for trying to get more funds and financial limits from Gosplan and more from the ministers, including petroleum and gas. And that the city ispolkom will offer people waiting lists to see the doctor, waiting lists for housing... In addition, the direct responsibility borne by the departments for social, cultural, and everyday needs is a powerful incentive for reducing the number of persons working in the North, and for the maximum automation and mechanization of production. And if the chief customer in the city on the Ob takes the attitude to the needs of the Northerners that Mintsvetmet [Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy] at one time took toward Norilsk, yet another Arctic pearl will flare up in Russia's northern crown.

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### LATVIAN MANAGER EMPLOYMENT BUREAU DESCRIBED

Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 15 Feb 87 p 1

[Article by S. Spungin: Applying For a Position]

[Text] "I can work as a chief specialist" - these words from the callers did not surprise the workers at the employment buro for the inhabitants of the Latvian SSR. A card index has been established here for those applying for management positions. It contains data about the most competent and energetic applicants who could become managers but who for some reason do not perceive possibilities for growth within their collectives.

"In the conditions of restructuring we have decided to relinquish the present procedure of promotion to responsible positions," says S. Blazevits, head of the buro. "And so we attempted to use personal initiative, an unusual source for supplementing leading personnel. We have established closer links with enterprises and organizations of the national economy. Judging by everything, we have managed to gain their trust. We receive data on vacancies for chief engineers, chief technologists and chief power engineers. Naturally, our suggestions do not always meet the wishes of the applicants. In those cases we recommend that the applicants be patient and wait."

"What requirements do those who apply for promotion have to meet?"

"At first we defined the first absolutely necessary criteria: the applicant must have higher education; be a member of the CPSU; be between 27 and 40 years old; have continuous work experience for at least three years. After the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee we made corrections. In the future we will also support the assignment of non-party members apart from communists to management work; we will involve women more widely."

"What are the results? Have any of the applicants been confirmed as managers?"

"The first twelve people are all set. Everybody is satisfied. And what is also very important, opinions full of praise arrive about them from the collectives where they are employed."

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### MSSR SUPREME SOVIET CHAIRMAN HITS UNEARNED INCOME PROBLEM

Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian Nov 8o pp 89-96

[Article by A. Mokuanu, Chairman of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, under rubric "Law and Legality," with subrubric "Say No to Unearned Income!": "In the Name of Social Justice"]

[Text] The workers in our republic, who have perceived with their mind and their heart the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, are working unstintingly alongside of the rest of the Soviet nation to convert the energy of ideas into the energy of actions, to achieve positive shifts in all spheres of social life, and to give the proper acceleration to our country's socioeconomic development. But we must be perfectly aware that the acceleration will start skidding if, during its course, the obstructions on our path are not removed, if the ugly phenomena that are fundamentally alien to socialism are not eradicated, and that pertains to probably the most cynical of them -- unearned income.

Let us recall that almost seven decades ago revolutionary Russia, which proclaimed the happiness of the workers to be its highest goal, stamped on the first Soviet rubles the highest, the most sacred symbols -- the symbols of labor: the Hammer and Sickle. Money, which over the course of centuries had opposed labor and had enslaved labor, from that day on combined with labor, becoming a tool for measuring and tallying it. It is for that reason that an honestly earned ruble is so dear to us. It is for that reason that income obtained by dishonest means evokes indignation on the part of people of labor.

The principle of social justice as the basis of socialist existence currently is taking on special importance or, I might even say, is among those principles with primary importance. As was emphasized in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, it is not a matter of indifference to us as to the methods and means by which a person achieves an improvement in his material and spiritual life, or the social consequences to which they lead. Under conditions of socialism, raising the standard of living for every family must be combined with unflagging supervision of the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, since every deviation, every step off to the side, is fraught with the appearance of consumerism.

It must be admitted that instances in our republic of violation of that very important principle of socialism, "from each according to his capabilities, to each according to his labor," and instances of selfish violations of the law, have been the consequence of substantial shortcomings in the work of state agencies and organizations.

Unfortunately we are talking not about individual examples, but about situations that are rather widespread, that lie as a heavy burden on the development of the economy, and that undermine the authority of honest, conscientious labor. In the branches of the republic's agroindustrial complex alone, 1403 official and economic crimes that caused damages of a total of 1.5 million rubles were revealed in 1985. In many trade enterprises, there were instances of fraud directed against the customers and other violations of the rules that govern customer services. Frequently the persons who became the organizers of major abuses linked with bribe-taking were individual corrupt officials. At the present time a group of officials from the former Ministry of Viticulture and Winemaking have been brought to criminal responsibility. The group includes G. Kozub, previously a deputy minister, and A. Tverdov, general director of the Aroma Production Association.

Extortion and speculation, the production of black-market output, figure-padding, bonuses for imaginary successes... One can easily see the evil that results from such deals: millions of the people's rubles end up in the pockets of self-seekers and thieves, the system of social justice and the very principle of the distribution of blessings break down, and the "example" provided by the successful wheelers and dealers corrupts others, multiplying the number of transgressors.

Tolerating these situations further, becoming reconciled to them, would mean yielding to a psychology of private ownership, would mean being led around on a leash by the uncontrollable petty-bourgeois dog-eat-dog situation, and would mean forgoing class principles. As a former front-liner aptly noted in his letter concerning the television documentary "The Bribe," "I know from my combat experience how difficult it is to win back positions that have been left behind. But they have to be won back!"

Yes, the time has come for the moral purification and recuperation of society. Therefore all of us warmly approve the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "Measures to Intensify the Fight Against Unearned Income," the corresponding decree of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the ukases that were adopted in the union republic in fulfillment of that act. The party and government documents not only provide a well-principled evaluation of certain negative situations, but also a concrete expression of the measures of exerting a disciplinary, material, and criminal influence on those who trample on the law for their own selfish interests.

In fulfilling these measures a tremendous role belongs to the local agencies of authority, to which the Constitution has entrusted the important functions of reinforcing legality and law and order, organizational spirit and discipline. It is the duty of the soviets, their executive committees, deputies, and activists to assure that petty thieves and other persons who

hope to gain personal profit at the expense of society know about the irreversibility of the punishment for their misdemeanors and, putting it figuratively, feel that with their own skin. One cannot speak today about any shortage of rights. The laws adopted by the highest agencies of authority currently grant to the local soviets the complete possibility of becoming the true masters on their own territory. And it is necessary to be precisely masters like that!

We are faced with the task of closing off all loopholes and channels for illegal enrichment, and of guaranteeing the strict observance of the principle of payment according to labor. That is no simple task! It goes beyond the confines simply of legal counteraction and will be resolved in the political, socioeconomic, and educational aspects. It is necessary to carry out persistent work to restructure people's way of thinking, and to eradicate the conciliatory attitude that still prevails with respect to those who, as the expression goes, "know how to live."

With the adoption of the normative acts that were mentioned, the local soviets and the republic's ministries, state committees, and departments were supposed to define for themselves the specific directions that work would take in this sector, so as not to allow the matter to drift along under its own momentum. The Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet checked to see how that important work had been begun by the ispolkoms of Kaushanskiy, Kotovskiy, Kutuzovskiy, Novoanenskiy, Oknitskiy, Ungenskiy, and Chimishliyskiy rayon soviets and certain city soviets. And what was ascertained? Many had not yet done any truly dynamic, purposeful, effective organizing work in that direction. The normative acts that we sent to the ispolkoms bear such hazy resolutions by their chairmen: Kaushanskiy and Chimishliyskiy rayon soviets -- "To the Organizational Department for guidance"; Ungenskiy and Kotovskiy rayon soviets -- "To legal consultants for making the appropriate amendments to the normative acts"; Oknitskiy rayon soviet -- "Familiarize the ispolkom members"; and Kutuzovskiy rayon soviet -- "For guidance and execution." One can understand that no proper results can be expected from this -- pardon the expression! -- "work." Because they should have assigned specific tasks, particularly for the ispolkom commissions, the people's controllers, the volunteer people's militia, comrades' courts, village and street committees, public law and order protection points, and the preventive councils of production collectives.

Unfortunately, not all the comrades became immediately aware that in the struggle for purity and order in our life it will be necessary to carry out not a formal, hasty campaign, but rather to extend a prolonged, massive offensive against undesirable situations. The time requires of the soviets the ability to make practical use of all the possibilities for the comprehensive resolution of the task of intensifying the fight against unearned income. In every city and rayon, by the efforts of the state agencies and public organizations and the labor collectives, a united front in that fight must be created.

When making conclusions after the checks that were carried out, we undertook additional efforts to stimulate the growth of the work of fulfilling the measures in the fight against unearned income. The broad discussion of the



new normative acts was organized at labor collectives, at sessions of the ministry and departmental boards, and at rural rallies.

The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet developed and is carrying out a plan for the first-priority legal and organizational measures to implement the requirements contained in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers and the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It has been planned, for example, to study and discuss the question of the work performed by MSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee decree, entitled "Measures to Intensify the Fight Against Unearned Income." In accordance with that plan, the workers in the apparatus of the Presidium and the republic's Council of Ministers render organizational and methodological assistance to the local soviets and their agencies, explain the statutes stipulated in the normative documents, and recommend the best, most effective way to employ them in the practical situation.

Recently a meeting of the republic's party aktiv was held in Kishinev. The participants at that meeting considered the question of the tasks of the party, soviet, trade-union, law-enforcement, and economic agencies in fighting undesirable situations. The meeting had been preceded by a large amount of preparatory work. Persistently implementing the party's line aimed at taking all steps to consider the opinions of the masses with regard to vitally important problems, the workers of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the republic government visited cities, rayons, and labor collectives, studied the state of affairs locally, and listened to what the workers had to say about that very important question. The collective opinion was unanimous: all of us, working together, must fight the nonworking scum of society and everything that contradicts the socialist way of life.

The first steps in implementing the party's course that is aimed at consolidating social justice have clearly demonstrated the tremendous potential capabilities that have been made the very basis of socialist legality. There has been a noticeable improvement in the economic indicators of the republic's national economy, and in the attitude toward labor and socialist property. The fight against unearned income is taking on increasingly meaningful forms. In particular, examples were cited to show how certain agencies of authority, without waiting for the instructions "from above" which have become customary, have been working dynamically on their own initiative. Thus, by the efforts of the Bendery city soviet and its ispolkom, more than 30 groups were formed from representatives of the public and workers at administrative and housing agencies; these groups inspect the housing fund. A number of violations of the internal passport system were revealed, empty apartments were discovered, and instances were established of citizens' having received money illegally when exchanging apartments or subleasing them.

The new legislation provides the opportunity to oppose these violations actively. However -- and the attention of the participants of the meeting was specifically drawn to this -- letters concerning housing questions continue to occupy the greatest percentage in the mail received by the agencies of authority. From August 1985 through June 1986 the Presidium of the MSSR

Supreme Soviet alone received 823 citizen complaints concerning violations of housing legislation. The data provided by an analysis of this group of letters necessitated the consideration of the question "The Work of the Soroki City Soviet of People's Deputies in Implementing the Principle of Social Justice." The Presidium decree stated that the ispolkom of that agency of authority was doing little to monitor the observance of the procedure for providing housing accommodations and was shy in involving the public and the labor collectives in that work. That is why there had been rather frequent instances there of violations of housing legislation, and instances of abuses during the assignment of apartments. A well-principled evaluation was made of that situation.

At the present time the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is studying the work of the Ungeny city soviet and the Ungenskiy Rayon soviet and their agencies. The purpose of this study is not only to take firm steps to locate and eliminate shortcomings and any violations of the law, but also to render assistance to the agencies of authority in mobilizing all the deputies, the soviet aktiv, and the labor collectives for the unconditional and strict fulfillment of the requirements stated in the housing legislation on the territory for which they are responsible.

Unfortunately, one still encounters people's naive belief that the only thing that has prevented us from achieving impressive results in the fight against antisocial behavior has been the "weakness," the "softness" of our laws, and that it is that "weakness" and "softness" that have been practically the chief factor that has been restraining the resolution of major economic and social problems, and the belief that, by the simple act of adopting a new, "strong" law, it is possible to eliminate the problem. But one cannot forget that, when improving legislation, it is also important to improve the practice of its application. And, as the facts attest, this is still our weak link, because we have already had laws that pertain to everything -- the fight against thievery and speculation, against the use of transportation for selfish purposes, games of chance, etc. And the violations not only occurred, but the number of them sometimes grew. And everything was for the same reason -- we were not carrying out the sufficiently decisive and uncompromising struggle against those vices that the law required of us. The law-enforcement agencies did not, by any means, employ to the fullest extent the legislative acts that they had at their disposal. The soviets, in turn, did not keep these questions under their strict, vigilant supervision. No one -- neither the soviets, their permanent commissions, nor their ispolkoms -- paid the proper attention to them, made exacting demands upon the appropriate officials, or used such a powerful lever as public opinion.

For example, no use was made of the legislation which had even been in effect earlier and which stipulated the unpaid confiscation of homes, dachas, and other structures that had been erected or purchased by citizens with the use of unearned income. In 1985 more than a thousand instances of use of governmental and public transportation for purposes of personal profit were recorded in the republic, but only 23 persons were brought to court responsibility. According to random data, in Kishinev approximately 40 percent of the garages were built with the illegal use of government equipment. (It seems apropos to mention that the payment for only one hour of

operation, say, of a truck-mounted crane is 55-57 rubles; a bulldozer, 30-45; and an excavator, 40-50 rubles.) Thus, the damages incurred are two-fold: not only the government equipment and fuel that were used not for the good of society, but also the payment for the services that went into the pockets of various kinds of dishonest persons.

Not a single instance of this kind of violation of the law must now remain unpunished. But in order to create an atmosphere of intolerance toward violations of the law, the soviets must fundamentally restructure their work, must transfer the question of the fight against unearned income from the "other matters" section of the agenda to the basic section. The chief meaning of this restructuring is the acceleration of the resolution of this question!

The sectors and areas in the struggle against unearned income are well known. They were clearly defined in the new party and governmental documents. And it is necessary to carry out the work in all these areas. Take, for example, that type of illegal enrichment that is most dangerous for society -- theft. How have we been combatting it? During the past three years the total amount of material damages in cases involving thefts, according to data provided by the investigative agencies, came to 7.23 million rubles in our republic. But the courts, displaying completely unjustified liberalism, reduced that total to 3 million rubles. Then only approximately 65 percent of that total was repaid. And yet the complete restitution of the material damages is sometimes a more effective measure for exerting an influence upon profit-seekers than even criminal punishment. At the present time the people's courts have begun to evaluate more strictly the actions of those who steal the people's wealth, and to apply the force of the law in full measure to them.

Instances of petty thievery have become a scourge that inflicts not only a large amount of material damage, but also irreplaceable moral damage. How do certain dishonest people reason? Whether it is at the plant where you work, or out on the field, just take everything that comes to hand! And they do! Whether it be a handful of nails from the plant or a sack full of kolkhoz corn. In the 11th Five-Year Plan, several thousand petty thieves of this kind were detained in our republic. The total amount of commodity-material assets confiscated from them and returned to enterprises and farms came to more than 600,000 rubles. And that was only from those who had been detained! But many people were simply not grabbed by the arm.

Of course, it would be incorrect to say that little is being done in the republic to stop or prevent instances of petty thievery. Questions of the intactness of socialist property are discussed rather frequently at sessions of the local soviets, at sessions of their executive committees, and their permanent commissions for socialist legality and the protection of public order. But it is no easy matter to cope with this social evil if it is opposed only by one-time measures or half-measures, if the law-enforcement and other governmental agencies and the local soviets operate without coordination among themselves, which often happens. In addition, an atmosphere of universal intolerance of petty thieves and those who like to get rich at other people's expense has not yet been created. In the fight against these crimes one sees the passivity of the comrades' courts, the volunteer people's home guards, the councils to prevent violations of the law, and the other public



formations. And this inertia and lack of principles, this lack of desire to restructure one's organization, sometimes manifest themselves also when considering the materials dealing with petty thieves.

At enterprises and on farms it is not only the new normative acts that have not yet been employed in full force, but also the law governing the labor collectives with respect to its powers in guaranteeing the intactness of socialist property. This was confirmed by the discussion at a session of the Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet of the question of fulfilling the requirements of that law by enterprises, institutions, and organizations in the system of the republic's agroindustrial association for tobacco. We came to the conclusion that, in order to correct the situation, it is necessary to increase the activity rate of the monitoring by agencies of state authority of the execution of the law's statutes that are aimed at fighting thefts of socialist property at enterprises and on farms; to improve the work of the deputy groups and stations; and to strive for a situation in which they effectively promote the implementation of the measures that have been planned in this regard.

Our Communist Party is a party of realists, and we are completely aware that the unearned ruble cannot be eliminated simply by public indignation and legal sanctions. It is necessary to knock the economic basis out from under the feet of the cheats. That is, it is necessary to take the most forceful steps against an actual or imaginary shortage of commodities or services, which sometimes arises as a result of the sluggishness of economic agencies, the lack of social entrepreneurship on the part of their managers, and indifference to people's needs. It is not by accident that the CPSU Central Committee has paid the most careful attention to increasing the production of commodities for which there is the broadest demand, and to expanding the sale to the public of spare parts, building materials, and items to improve apartments. The documents concerning the intensification of the fight against unearned income mention the creation with the shortest periods of time of the material and organizational prerequisites for satisfying the public's needs for services, primarily those linked with the repair of apartments, cars, motorcycles, electrical, television, and radio apparatus, and other household appliances. The task posed is to improve the operation of the enterprises engaged in trade and in the providing of personal and medical services, the municipal-housing administration, hotels, and other enterprises in the service sphere, and to vary the types and forms of services provided.

Here too is a broad field for the soviets to work in. The time has passed when the economic managers could brush off the persistent and justified demands of the local agencies of authority that are responsible for the state of affairs on their territory. The powers granted to the soviets have been considerably expanded by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, entitled "Measures for the Further Increase in the Role of and the Intensifying of the Responsibility Borne by the Soviets of People's Deputies for Accelerating Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress." For example, the associations, enterprises, and organizations of union and republic subordination, prior to the submission of draft versions of the annual and five-year plans to the superior agencies, are required to



coordinate them with the executive committee with respect to the development of the social sphere, construction, the production of consumer goods, and the provision of social-cultural, personal, and other services to the public. The new rights have been granted to the soviets in implementing the tasks set by the Comprehensive Program for Developing the Production of Consumer Goods and the Service Sphere for 1986-2000.

At the present time all the permanent commissions of the MSSR Supreme Soviet have been involved in the analysis of the state of affairs in the fight against undesirable situations, in monitoring the actions of the state apparatus in this area. This involvement takes into consideration the specific nature of the sphere or branch in which those commissions carry out their functions. The deputies strive to keep under their constant scrutiny each of the vitally important problems whose resolution will make it possible to seal off all kinds of loopholes for illegal enrichment. For example, the commission for consumer goods and services for the public planned to listen to a report given by the Ministry of Municipal Services for the public concerning the work being done in the republic to improve the work of its enterprises in rural localities in the light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Moldavian CP Congress. That ministry will have to report specifically which services linked with the maintenance of the governmental and individual housing fund it intends to provide to people in the near future. And the commission on the agroindustrial complex is studying the state of affairs with the purchasing of surplus agricultural produce that has been grown on the kolkhoz members' private plots, linking this with the task of expanding cooperative trade in that produce in the cities and settlements, and at kolkhoz markets.

There is a rather large number of problems in the social sphere. In July 1986 they were the topic of an exacting, businesslike discussion at the fourth session of the MSSR Supreme Soviet, during the discussion of the draft of the state plan for the republic's economic and social development for the five-year period. Questions that were raised with particular sharpness included questions of improving quality in its most varied aspects: this pertained to output, to services, to administration, and to the work in general. The deputies were alarmed, for example, by the low quality of many consumer goods. Last year the enterprises in the Ministry of Light Industry alone had returned to them for that reason various kinds of output with a total value of 6 -- yes, 6! -- million rubles. A critical situation has developed with the quality and variety of articles for children. As long ago as one of the previous sessions of the republic's Supreme Soviet, a group of deputies directed an inquiry about this to Minister of Light Industry G. Zhitnyuk. At that time the minister assured the Supreme Soviet that "cardinal steps" would be taken to correct the state of affairs. But what happened? Out of 200,000 pairs of children's shoes that were subsequently inspected, 50,000 pairs were changed to grade II and returned for correction. That is how the minister responded to the deputies' inquiry. A deputies' meeting demanded from the ministry a restructuring of its work not in words, but in deeds! The defective articles produced by the republic's enterprises was evaluated by the deputies as a kind of form of stealing material resources, and of squandering

our nation's labor. Similar claims were made against the services sphere, which, practically speaking, has been untouched by the restructuring. It was necessary to ask, "When are you finally going to get moving?"

The session participants used the same critical yardstick in approaching the discussion of the tasks of raising the standard of living for the workers of Moldavia, improving their working and everyday living conditions, and improving the entire social sphere. Mention was made of the need to intensify the social focus of the five-year plan. That plan, in particular, has stipulated the further development of local industry and has posed the task of carrying it to the advanced limits of scientific-technical progress. The effectiveness of the services sphere will also develop and rise further. Paid services will increase during the five-year period by a factor of 1.5. This is 105 million rubles more than was planned for that period by the Comprehensive Program for Developing the Production of Consumer Goods and the Services Sphere in Moldavian SSR in 1986-2000.

A similarly broad group of questions directly pertaining to the confirmation of the principle of social justice, the establishment of a reliable socioeconomic barrier against unearned income, and the establishment of order and discipline in all our affairs was discussed by the local soviets at their sessions. The plans approved by them were oriented toward creating the conditions that hinder to the maximum degree the possibility of such undesirable situations. For example, the plan approved by the Kishinev city soviet stipulates a considerable growth of the material-technical base in the trade-services branch. It is planned, by means of new construction, to activate more than 30 general trade stores with an area of 25,400 square meters. A covered market with 1200 places will be opened. The introduction of order into the trade system, the saturation of it with commodities, will, of course, knock the ground out from under the feet of those who are still speculating on the weaknesses in this area and are extracting unjust income.

The situation that has developed in state, cooperative, and market trade, in motor-vehicle services, in hotel services, on public transportation, and in other spheres that affect the interests of the public is increasingly becoming the object of the chief concern on the part of the soviets. As the expression goes, there's a whole lot of questions that require immediate decision in this area. The most vitally important ones include the shortage of fruits and vegetables in the trade system, a shortage that creates the conditions for people to make a lot of profit by buying and reselling them. And where is this shortage occurring? In a republic of orchards and vineyards. Take, for example, the city of Tiraspol. One can observe an obvious paradox there: all around the city are the famous vegetable farms, but you cannot find any produce from those farms in the stores. It turns out that kolkhozes and sovkhoses of Slobodzeyevskiy and Grigoriopol'skiy rayons, with whom contracts exist for the sale of surplus produce at the Tiraspol kolkhoz market, do not really want to engage in that very much. Therefore it is the "private trader" who counts at the bazaar. An analysis of the situation attests to the fact that this occurs chiefly at the fault of the suppliers. But the blame is also shared by the city ispolkom's services which have not established precise contacts with them. Questions of the transporting and acceptance of the produce are resolved slowly and inefficiently.

The soviets must also be more aggressive in "prodding along" the consumer cooperative system, the direct job of which is to organize broad commission-type trade in the vegetable-garden and orchard produce from the private plots of the rural inhabitants. The inertia and the sluggishness of the procurement specialists are "successfully" used by speculators who buy up and ship out of our republic large consignments of vegetables and fruit.

The soviet ispolkoms must take immediate steps to stop the perversion of the very essence of the very important party and government documents that stipulate the implementation of the principle of social justice. This matter requires a differentiated, attentive approach. It is necessary to establish a deep boundary, and to subdivide the private plots precisely into those which actually are benefitting an individual person, his family, and the state, and those which are run intensively in only one direction -- the satisfying of selfish interests and large profits. The two kinds cannot be equated. For example, in Beltsy -- and, incidentally, in the republic as a whole -- the "whistle has been blown" justifiably on homeowners who build hothouses that greatly exceed the standard dimensions. There are citizens, for example, whose greed for enrichment has led them to build covered vegetable gardens on an area of 500 square meters -- an area that is 25 times larger than the authorized area! At the present time, legal measures are being applied to them.

It is necessary to use all methods of combatting abuses -- the force of public influence, efforts to take a well-principled party approach, constant monitoring by the soviets, and, if necessary, sharp administrative measures when it is completely obvious that the person does not want to change his ways. And the hope that the measures to be taken will be temporary ones had better not be cherished by those who, under the withering glance of time, had scuttled like a cockroach into a hole to wait things out, thinking, "They'll make a lot of noise and it will all die down, and then everything will be the way it was." No, in the fight against phenomena that are alien to our society of workers -- and it is an uncompromising, bitter fight -- we shall give no breathing spell to the person who is stealing from the treasury, to the speculator, to the person who likes to "take a little bribe," or the petty thief. This fight will continue until the thieves and everyone else who lives at someone else's expense have been eliminated once and for all.

From day to day the fight to confirm the principles of social justice has been picking up speed. Nevertheless, in this fight we must multiply our efforts even more! There lies ahead a tremendous amount of painstaking work for the soviets, work that is aimed at assuring that the Soviet ruble does not have and cannot have anyone gauge than the gauge of honest labor for the good of society. Speaking succinctly, herein lies the meaning of our decisive offensive against unearned income.

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### LVOV OIL REFINERY POSES ENVIRONMENTAL, FIRE HAZARDS

Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by V. Baziv, correspondent of RABOCHAYA GAZETA: "The Price of Dead Lakes"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Dark clouds bunched over Lvov on an autumn Sunday morning, covering the city with smoke and the stench of burning. One of the black lakes on the city outskirts had caught fire. Chief City Sanitary Inspector A. Bekker immediately phoned B. Yatsiv, director of the oil refinery, at home. "Our settling basins couldn't be burning!" objected the director, while looking out the window at the resinous clouds moving toward the city. A. Bekker's alarmed voice reproached him: "Even now you maintain your Olympic calm.

Call out the fire fighters immediately." It was not easy to stop the fire. The enormous glassy surface of a settling basin in which oil refining wastes had been accumulating for years, had blazed up. V. Sekrataryuk, first secretary of the Lvov party gorkom, said in commenting on this fact later: "Yes, that was the apogee of our ancient struggle with this enterprise. We have tens of enterprises, but not one pollutes the 'lungs of the city' like that one." They managed to put out the Sunday fire. However, it appears that the terrible warning did not shake the refinery workers an iota.

Let us restrain our emotions, however, and turn to the facts. They are set out in company documents, authenticated by the authoritative signatures of responsible persons acting in the name of the state and on behalf of its interests.

B. Manuylik, chief of regional inspection for protection of atmospheric air of Goskomgidromet USSR [State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control]:

"Every year the oil refinery discharges 1,130 tons of carbon, more than 70 tons of carbon sulphide, almost 95 tons of nitrogen dioxide, 464 tons of carbon monoxide, and ten tons of dust and other harmful substances into the city's atmosphere. Acid tars in holding ponds pollute the atmosphere with sulphate vapors and oxidize the soil of adjacent fields."



Lvov Chief Sanitary Inspector A. Bekker:

"Due to the absence of effective purification equipment for water used in industrial processes that is discharged into the municipal sewage system, the content of oil products may be tens and sometimes hundreds of times greater than maximum permissible concentrations. This really threatens to put the city's purification equipment out of commission.

S. Mikhasiv, chief of the oblispolkom fire prevention control department:

"Processing units are located at a distance of 60 to 70 meters from apartment buildings, instead of the 200 meters that is the norm. The distance from the bulk unloading pier to B. Khmelnitskiy Street is 5 meters, instead of 50. Reservoirs of hot bitumen are 4 meters from the buildings of the meat-packing plant, instead of 10. The refinery's water supply for firefighting doesn't meet requirements either. The enterprise is clearly in a state that constitutes a fire hazard."

B. Maman, deputy chief for the Lvov Okrug of Gosgortekhnadzor [State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision]:

"In view of the violations of rules and the absence of safety norms, we raised the question of the impossibility of continued operation of the refinery on city territory back in 1975. Glavneftekhimprom UkSSR [Main Administration of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry UkSSR] presented measures to ensure the safety of the enterprise's operation. However, they were declined as unsound. What is more, the refinery increased its output of substances that are harmful, or dangerous with respect to fire."

Here we have a comprehensive testimonial and unanimous statement of a regrettable reality. The conclusion of all inspecting departments is also unanimous: The existence of an oil refinery in Lvov is impossible. Today it finds itself surrounded by apartment buildings. There is no denying it here: Balconies literally hang over the refinery's territory, although, from the standpoint of sanitary considerations, at a minimum it is impermissible that a single living soul should reside within a distance of 500 meters around it. Its vicinity to enterprises of the food industry, namely the meat-packing plant and the Oktyabr integrated fat-rendering works, is likewise impermissible. Firemen expressed their opinion on that subject with maximum candor: "Look how much commotion the flare up of the settling basins for wastes in an area beyond the city limits caused. What if a fire were to spring up on the territory of the refinery itself!"

The fire department is engaging in depressing speculation, but the sanitary inspectors are using facts that are already real. Last summer, a salvo discharge of oil products landed in the municipal sewage-treatment works. The "purgatory" of an enormous city wound up on the brink of destruction. The biological refinery area was saved by a miracle.

"If this happens again, I have washed my hands of the matter," says A. Bekker, chief sanitary inspector. "I have turned the case over to the prosecutor's office, fined the director, and written a letter to the ministry."

Signals of various kinds of inspections gave the gorispolkom a basis for making a decision on moving the refinery beyond the city limits. What was the reaction to this order? I. Olefir, deputy chief of Ukglavneftekhimprom [Main Administration of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry UkSSR] came to Lvov and heard out the deplorable story of the enterprise under his wardship. Having thumped his chest for emphasis, he solemnly declared: "We will take immediate measures," and set off for home. Soon he sent the measures that had been worked out, which V. Lyaskovskaya, chairman of the gorsovet permanent commission on environmental protection, precisely termed: another answer written for form only. The refinery needs to be removed from the city, but there is not a word about that.

Here is the situation in outline: Oil is transported from Krasnodarskiy Kray to Lvov. Here, various types of oil and other oil products are prepared from it and it is again transported to customers at various distant points. What is the cause of such obviously uneconomical activity? People name it immediately: Even in pre-soviet times, there was oil refining here and it became the basis of the present refinery.

However, this historical information works not so much in favor of, but against, the location of the refinery in the city. Certainly they haven't come far from that primitiveness; the Lvov refinery modestly huddles in the technical background of its progressing industry. Not only is the refinery bad for the city, but the city is bad for the refinery. The refinery is tightly squeezed from all sides and deprived of any opportunity to develop and improve itself in buildings that date from the beginning of the century.

When, headed by the energetic gorsovet deputy V. Lyaskovskaya, environmental protection inspections were moved into the attack, plant director B. Yatsiv at first did not take this seriously. Boys, it's not up to you, he says. In his ten years as director, he had adapted to ecological inspectors. They draw up a report, draw up ten others for personal punishment, and again there is a ceasefire until the next planned check.

Now though, his inarticulate explanation of the ecological situation was followed by a summons to the party gorkom. The conversation was stern. The director understood that it was no joking matter. He might not hang on to the director's chair until retirement. Out of all that "criticism," he made a discovery for himself: An executive needs to be engaged in environmental protection work. As a result, he recently invited me to take a look at the refinery's purification equipment, the construction of which must be finished this year. Both he and the chief engineer did not conceal their joy. It's nice when you are doing a good deed. Nevertheless, I could not fully share their mood. I was more conscious of something else: Why did enlightenment arrive so late? Certainly the figures produced by the inspections would not have been so depressing if the management of the refinery had not removed

concern about the city in which they live from the circle of their official responsibilities.

Having done an excellent job of mastering bureaucratic subterfuges, the chief directorate and the management, year in and year out, "fed" those beating the alarm with empty twaddle, declarations, and a multitude of elaborate measures, for the execution of which, no one thought of so much as lifting a finger. I looked through identical documents that were nothing but deceit, and that smelled, like black smoke, of the psychology of time-serving demagogues, who live by the principle "apres moi le deluge." In the course of many years, 400,000 cubic meters of oil wastes had accumulated.

Let us again look at this matter more calmly. Aren't you put on guard by the saying "wastes" in the petrochemical industry? "That is a completely justified doubt," said V. Antonishin, doctor of technical sciences and professor of the Lvov Polytechnical Institute, who readily picked up my thought. After all, this is chemistry. What are wastes here? For a previous stage of the cycle they are wastes, but for the next stage they are raw material. There is no end in our business.

So, what is obtained? Is it possible to utilize the acid tar from the black lakes in the national economy?

"It's not [only] possible, but essential," exclaimed the scientist sincerely. It could become the raw material for the preparation of binders for asphalt, a construction material that is in short supply. And in the cement industry, it could improve the quality of the product and economize thermal energy. Finally, acid tar is 30 to 50 percent sulfuric acid. This is poison in the black lake, but it is a necessary product in manufacturing; it is possible to derive valuable sulfur from it.

In short, ecological neglect has yet another name: economic wastefulness. By skillfully utilizing oil products to the end, you thus protect nature. Or you can come to the same conclusion looking at it the other way around. This way or that, it is mutually advantageous to industry and environmental protection. There is no contradiction between them. There is a contradiction between the necessity to solve this problem and the desire to do so.

Certainly, under the leadership of Professor Antonishin, technology has been developed for utilizing acid tar to obtain a binding material for asphalt concrete. There is a method and there is a raw material, but there is no action. The management of the chief directorate and the refinery are searching for partners who would set to work utilizing the contents of the black lakes. This timid search has already lasted for years, shielded by assertions: "We're working on this problem." But working on it is not what needs doing. The hour struck long ago when it should have been solved.

When the lawsuit began, when after innumerable useless sanctions a sentence followed for the first time--that the refinery was to quit the city limits--the leaders of the enterprise expressed resentment.

"Well, you know, it's not so simple for you--Away with you!--and that's it. It's not a chip that you can move on a board. These eight hectares near Vysokiy Zamok monthly give the country production valued at two and a half million rubles."

With strain, such logic could be understood, but in the context of the past, not the present. Now the context is different, inasmuch as the situation is no longer hopeless, because there is a solution, there is a place to move it to.

New capacities for an oil refinery are being built a few kilometers from Lvov. With an amendment--to begin with the removal from Lvov of harmful processes and those that are a fire or explosion hazard, rather than beginning with principally new production--this version could be considered the most realistic in solving the problem.

But the latest decision of Glavneftekhimprom UkSSR, dated last month, is that the construction of a new site for the Lvov oil refinery is to stop.

"Well, it's for you to decide," says S. Mikhasiv, chief of the fire department. "Then we'll prepare the materials for the immediate closing of the enterprise."

How will the narrative end, of what to date is a futile lawsuit of the city and a refinery that it has justly declared "persona non grata" on its territory? To turn once again to the maxims that among the global problems of humanity, the ecological problem occupies second place after disarmament, that the oil refinery not only ruins the lungs of an enormous city, but also gnaws at Lvov's buildings, among which are concentrated 50 percent of the architectural monuments of our republic? Or again to ascertain endless facts? Here is yet another one, a fresh one, for the USSR Ministry of Oil Refining and the Petrochemical Industry.

From altitude, birds perceive the black lakes as ordinary water reservoirs and land in them to rest on their migratory flights. They land, never to take off again. It is impossible to tear free of the sticky embraces of the deep. Students of the Lvov State University discovered interment of birds and brought photographs of bird remains to the gorsovet. Among them were recognized seven types that are entered in The Red Book.

Dead birds have been counted by the hundreds. Birds continue to land. How do you explain to them that this is a lake of death?

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## REGIONAL ISSUES

### EXTENDED COVERAGE OF GEORGIAN NATURAL DISASTER

#### Creation of Antiavalanche Service Urged

PM191421 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Feb 87 p 4

[Correspondent O. Chikhladze report: "We Ask the Question: Who Is Going To Stop the Avalanches?"]

[Text] Tbilisi--I shall not try now to convey the whole complex range of impressions from my two flights over snow-covered mountain settlements of Georgia. The main thing is that people are not being left to face disaster alone. Everything possible is being done to rescue them from the power of the elements and to normalize life. But, increasingly, through the emotion the question is heard: "Are we really still so helpless in the face of the elements?"

Let us briefly reconstruct the events and their aftermath. At the end of last December a humid air mass came into contact with the Greater Caucasus peaks, rose, cooled, and fell as heavy snow on their southern slopes. In January two to three times the normal precipitation fell, with four to six times that amount in some places. By the middle of the month, hundreds of avalanches had struck roads, settlements, and rayon centers. The situation became even worse when 1 and 1/2 times the normal monthly precipitation fell in just four days. But nature did not think this enough. Heavy rainfall on 31 January melted the snow in the foothills. The river levels rose by 3 to 4 meters. As has already been reported, some cities, villages, and national economic facilities were flooded.

February brought no improvement. In the mountains there was an increased danger of avalanches, while in the valleys and foothills there was an increased danger of floods. Of course, the most important thing now is to save people and public property from fresh attacks by the elements. And it is probably still too early to draw conclusions from the events contained in this weather picture, this abnormal winter...

"No, it is not too early," objected S. Kubarev, state inspector of the Central Aerological Observatory of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control. "It is precisely now, when events are still fresh, that we must take resolute measures to organize a service for actively influencing hydrometeorological processes."

But the republic already has such a service... And at the same time seems not to have one. It is used to protect vineyards, fields, and orchards in eastern Georgia against hail. But civil flights in those places have become more frequent now and for that reason, among others, the service's "gunners" increasingly rarely manage to "bombard" the clouds at the right moment.

For many years this service was led by A. Ordzhonikidze. Then, convinced that its work was becoming less and less successful, he took over leadership of the specialized Gruzvinogradzashchita Construction and Assembly Administration, which for four years now has been building anti-hail screens of capron mesh over the vineyards of Kakhetia. The benefit from this has been demonstrated in action. But was it really impossible in those four years to reorganize the "gunnery" service if not fully then at least partially to combat avalanches? Especially since hail clouds have to be "guarded against" in late spring and summer whereas avalanches need attention in winter and early spring.

"We raised that question," M. Chkhivadze, deputy chief of the Georgian Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control Administration, said, "but the necessary resources have not been found in the republic..."

We should be talking now about creating a new service for actively influencing hydrometeorological processes, which would include a well-equipped antiavalanche detachment. The arguments in favor of such a decision are provided not only by the events of this "abnormal" winter. At the end of last year the Transcaucasian highway went into operation: It was supposed to link the Transcaucasus with the Northern Caucasus by the shortest route. But now the connection has been broken--the tunnel approaches are blocked by avalanches. In January alone there were 47 avalanches on the road leading to the southern entrance to the tunnel, and the avalanche "season" is only just beginning. Each day trains will be using the Marabda-Akhalkalaki high mountain railroad. The construction of the Transcaucasus railroad, which will intersect the Greater Caucasus in the Arkhotskiy pass region, has already begun. None of these projects nor the many population centers in the mountains can survive without help from the avalanche workers.

"It is not just a question of this winter alone, of course," said K. Abdushelishvili, chief of the avalanche laboratory of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control's Transcaucasian Scientific Research Institute. "The effects of avalanches are felt every year. We have highlighted 185 facilities and population centers located in avalanche risk zones. There it is rare for there to be no damage to housing or communications. Literally every winter we have to bring avalanches down artificially."

The republic's economy cannot grow normally without the extensive development of the mountains. The population density in the valleys has long exceeded all norms and for about 10 years now the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government have been taking energetic measures to open up the mountain regions. In many places roads have been built and electricity, television, and telephone communications have been laid on. The construction of housing and enterprises has begun. But the most serious

obstacle is the unbridled ferocity of the elements. However, we do have experience in successfully countering avalanches...

"I have just come from Nalchik," S. Kubarev said. "The antiavalanche detachment of the North Caucasus service for actively influencing hydrometeorological processes has been working highly successfully there. Under a contract with various organizations and departments, the detachment monitors the snow condition in the mountains and when necessary triggers artificial avalanches. If anyone wants to know the scale of the economic effect of the costs, I would answer by saying that people can live safely in the mountains!"

There you have it, the chief argument for the prompt creation of a new service.

### 2,500 Villages Destroyed, Damaged

LD201122 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Feb 87

[Text] Here is a report from Georgia from our special correspondent, Marlen Lobzhanidze.

Alarming news continues to reach the republican headquarters from the areas of the natural calamity about further destruction caused by the violent quirks of nature. k Snowfalls in the mountains alternate with pouring rain and with sharp changes in temperature. This is causing the movement of more avalanches, and the emergency of landslides and falling rocks of destructive force.

It is the villages in high mountainous areas situated on the southern slopes of the Caucasian Mountains which have, in the main, suffered badly. According to information available today, about 2,500 villages in the republic have been either completely or partially destroyed or damaged.

Cash has started coming in to the special bank account that has been opened for the aid fund for the population of the republic which has suffered from the natural calamity. This assistance is from many labor collectives in Georgia and from the country's fraternal republics.

Restoration work today is being carried out everywhere possible by volunteer detachment forces. Many who refused point-blank to be evacuated have decided to work in their own districts.

A permanent air bridge, through which helicopters are carrying out shuttle flights, has been set up from here, Kutaisi Airport, where I am now, to the areas of the natural calamity. This early hour in the morning brought good flying weather for the air crews. A shroud of clouds that had been hiding the mountains has only just dispersed. There is visibility; before the weather changes, one must be quick to deliver tents, warm clothes, footwear, and provisions for the mountain folk and fodder for the cattle which are still in the mountains.

The helicopters are bringing people back on the return flights: women, children, and old people. Buses that have arrived from many rayon centers, where those who have suffered are being evacuated, are already waiting for them here. They are going to Marneul and Tetrtskaro Rayons, the villages of Kakhetia, and other regions situated away from the natural calamity.

#### Party Resolution Adopted on Aid

PM271349 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Feb 87 p 3

[O. Chikhladze report under the rubric "We Report Details": "The Struggle Against the Elements Continues"]

[Text] Tbilisi--Yesterday a Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum examined the tasks of the republic's party organizations in the light of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Help the Georgian SSR Eliminate the Consequences of Natural Disasters."

This winter the elements have assailed Georgia with great destructive force. Several dozen people have lost their lives in floods and avalanches, and more than 4,400 individual homes and more than 1,500 agricultural, hydrotechnical, and other buildings have been destroyed or damaged. More than 80,000 hectares of plowland and plantations of many years' standing have suffered. According to preliminary data, the damage already exceeds R300 million.

Now, the plenum stressed, it is essential to make good the damage in the shortest possible time and fulfill the targets of the second year of the 5-Year Plan at all costs.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on helping the republic says that the population of the republic has displayed organization and civic maturity. Labor collectives, under the leadership of republican party organizations and Soviet organs, are implementing specific measures to eliminate the consequences of the natural disasters and organize normal operation by the Georgian SSR's entire national economic complex. The working people of the republic are displaying mass heroism, are putting forward numerous patriotic initiatives, and are striving to complete restoration work in the shortest possible time.

The resolution contains a broad and multifaceted program for help with financial, material, and technical resources. Privileges are granted to enterprises, organizations, and the population in the stricken regions. Now it is important to utilize this help wisely and to the greatest effect.

The plenum demanded that party, Soviet, and economic organs do everything necessary to ensure full combat readiness for possible new onslaughts by the elements. It was noted that the situation should not be oversimplified. The snow cover on the southern slopes of the Caucasian Mountains is still significantly above normal. The spring flood in all rivers is also expected to be severe. In mountain regions the danger of avalanches has increased. All this requires immediate work on the part of republic and local agencies to strengthen riverbanks, erect dams, and carry out other preventive measures.



Lessons must be learned for the future, the plenum noted. The party-government resolution provides for a series of measures aimed at preventing and alleviating the consequences of possible future destructive natural phenomena. Two million rubles will be allotted to the republic for this annually. The construction of new reservoirs and other hydrotechnical installations lie ahead. A permanent republic commission has now been set up to combat natural disasters.

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